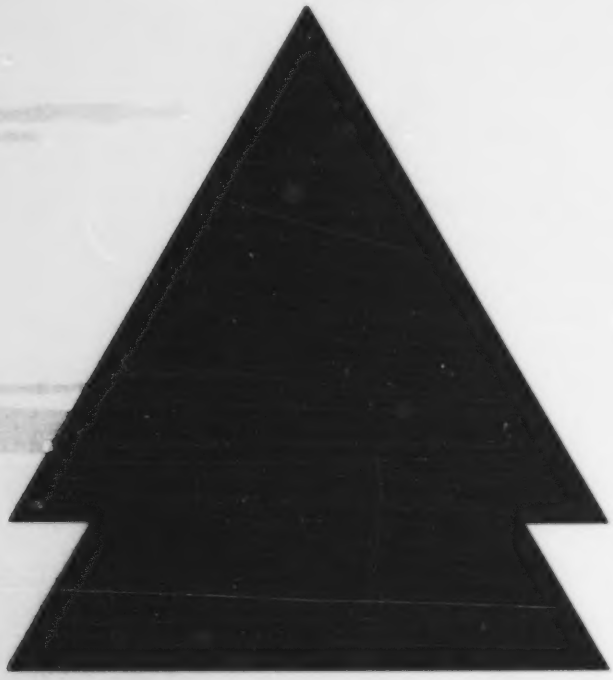
BACKGROUND DOCUMENT
OCTOBER 1990

A VISION OF THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA



POLICE-CHALLENGE 2000

Canada

A VISION OF THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA:

POLICE-CHALLENGE 2000

BACKGROUND DOCUMENT

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OCTOBER 1990

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FOREWORD: A BACKGROUND DOCUMENT

This paper is the "background document" of the discussion paper released by the Solicitor General of Canada, the Honourable Pierre Cadieux, under the title:

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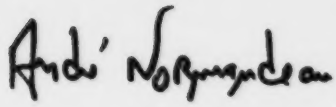

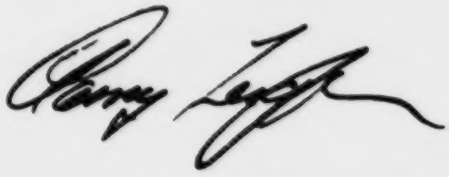

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A VISION OF THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This "Discussion Paper" provides a vision of policing in Canada up to the year 2000. Its intention is to raise some issues and contribute to the debate concerning the fundamental orientation of the police. The sources of information that have served as the framework for the document have included:

(1) a selective review of the literature on policing, with a special emphasis on Canadian material;
(2) preliminary meetings with some 20 police specialists (practitioners and academics);
(3) interviews with more than 50 Canadians: elected officials, police officers, government employees and interested citizens;
(4) group discussions with about 500 Canadians: elected officials, police officers, government employees and interested citizens;
(5) a thematic seminar on "The Future of Policing in Canada" supported by the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada and the University of Manitoba.

Consultations took place in every province and territory of Canada. The consultation guide contained 23 questions ranging from those pertaining to demographic and economic trends in Canada to those dealing with Aboriginal people or visible minorities.

1. POLICING IN CANADA

By the end of 1990, the number of public sector police officers in Canada will be in the order of 55,000. The total expenditures for public police services, by that time, will be in the neighbourhood of five billion dollars annually. The average annual salary for a first class police constable in Canada (with three to five years experience) is about $40,000. In the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Quebec and Ontario police forces, as well as in the police services of Toronto and Montreal, this average rises to over $47,000. These five police services account for more than 60% of the country's police officers. Women make up 5% of all police officers and over half of civilian police personnel. The number of police officers per 100,000 Canadians rose steadily from 1962 (140) to 1975 (210) and then levelled off thereafter due to the economic crisis and budgetary constraints.

2. THE ENVIRONMENT OF POLICING BY THE YEAR 2000

A variety of socio-demographic trends will have far-reaching consequences for police work in terms of the types of crime, offenders, and victims expected over the next decade, as well as for police organizations and the nature of their response. An aging Canadian population will produce proportionately fewer youth at risk of becoming criminals, reducing crime rates as well. At the same time, the growing elderly population is more likely to become victims of fraud and property crime, more involved with offences related to their quality of life, and more fearful.

Policing in an increasingly multicultural Canada will be challenged by racial tension, requiring police forces to recruit and promote more visible minorities, pursue more cross-cultural training, liaise more intensely with minority groups, and be subjected to greater public accountability.

A transformed family structure will present policing with higher rates of crime by women, based on greater participation in the workforce, and higher rates of breaking and entering, based on more empty residences during the day. Unsupervised children and youths will increasingly be a problem for street policing.

Technological change is rapidly creating new forms of property, thus facilitating new forms of theft and vandalism. Emerging forms of crime associated with business, the environment, computers, communications, etc., will require police to place less attention on traditional property and street crime. Yet police professionals will be better armed with high-tech investigative tools.

A growing fiscal crisis will severely limit police force budgets resulting in some difficult choices over limiting service and a greater burden to prove police efficiency and effectiveness. Private policing and other, less expensive alternatives to traditional public policing will be in greater demand.

Greater participation by the public in policing matters will emerge. Concern over civil rights issues related to more intrusive surveillance and reduced information privacy may place reasonable limits on some policing strategies.

As the "baby boom" ages, more attention will be given to the elderly as both victims and offenders. Changing cultural values will be reflected in greater permissiveness towards "consensual" or "victimless" crimes such as prostitution, soft drug use, and gambling, but there will be even less public tolerance of violence against women and children and of violent pornography.

3. COMMUNITY POLICING

A growing consensus among police leaders supports the adoption of community policing as the most appropriate police response to crime and disorder problems in modern Canadian society. This approach favours a police-community partnership in addressing local community crime and related problems, with the police being as much peace officers as law enforcement officers. Community

consultation is a key strategy, along with inter-agency cooperation among other municipal services. A proactive strategy of identifying local crime and disorder problems steers policing away from merely responding to calls for service or conducting random motorized patrol. Instead, street constables develop problem solving strategies which, depending on the problem and the neighbourhood, might involve foot patrol, mini-stations, or other tactics designed to increase police-community contacts. In the long-term, crime prevention tactics are introduced, including target hardening and social development approaches.

In order to implement community policing, police organizations will be transformed. They will become more open and accountable, less hierarchical, allow greater responsibility and autonomy for front line officers, and be based increasingly on the mission of solving local problems in partnership with the community.

4. IMPLEMENTING CHANGES

A Mission Statement

Over the past few years, an increasing number of public sector organizations have defined and publicized their missions, including some of Canada's largest police forces. A mission is a set of principles that defines the nature and ultimate purpose of an organization, clarifying its fundamental direction. It provides some tangible organizational goals as well as the means to achieve these.

As an example, we suggest the following mission statement:

> **As part of the criminal justice system and in accordance with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the police are responsible for maintaining peace, order and public security, for preventing crime and other offences, for apprehending offenders and bringing them to justice, and for addressing the fears and concerns of the public with respect with crime and disorder.**

Therefore, it is recommended that the following values be considered as the foundation for police work.

Police officers shall:

- **uphold the principles set forth in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the guarantees enjoyed by Canadians under the Charter;**

- **be an integral part of the community and reflect the principle that the police are the public and the public are the police;**

- work in partnership with the local community by consulting with them to establish local policing priorities for crime and disorder problems and by securing their co-operation in resolving these problems;

- provide the public with high quality services designed to achieve peace, order and security within the community and do so with sensitivity to the particular needs of citims, minorities, and vulnerable groups such as women, children, and the elderly;

- focus on identifying local crime and disorder problems and address their underlying causes while providing rapid response for those relatively rare life-threatening incidents;

- work to reduce any unfounded fear of being victimized and any concerns about local crime and disorder problems;

- work in partnership with other agencies providing services to the public, with other level of government, and with other segments of the criminal justice system;

- make lawful, reasonable and moderate use of their powers and be aware of the problems and risks associated with the discretionary use of such powers;

- use force only as a last resort where no other means may be used and any force used shall be in proportion to the circumstances of the incident;

- conduct themselves so as to maintain the public's trust and respect by adopting strict standards of professional ethics that will ensure freedom from misconduct and corruption, by being impartial in the enforcement of laws, and by being free from undue political or other influences;

- be accountable to the community, both formally through established democratic mechanisms and informally through public consultation and discussion.

As part of the criminal justice system and in accordance with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the police are responsible for maintaining peace, order and public security, for preventing crime and other offences, resolving problems that pose threats to the community, and for locating offenders and bringing them to justice.

Strategic Planning

Progressive organizations engage in strategic planning. It has been defined as the process of formalizing the concept of an organization, its mission, the set of objectives it is to pursue given its environment, and includes the plans, policies, structure, courses of action, allocation of resources, and tasks to be pursued in its planning cycle. Strategic planning is premised on the idea that no

organization exists in isolation as well as the notion that organizations must anticipate and adapt to a changing world.

Police organizations must therefore monitor their external and internal environments. External forces affecting them include fiscal, legal, political, socio-cultural, technological and demographic factors. Internal factors they must take into account in planning include their human and financial resources. Strategies are implemented on the basis of these factors and continually reassessed as to their appropriateness. Strategic planning is therefore a dynamic and fluid process.

Pursuing Excellence

Contemporary organizational theorists, such as Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman, have advanced certain principles of highly successful organizations--principles that "competitive" police organizations ought to consider. Some of these principles include:

- **a stress on quality service rather than mere efficiency;**
- **knowing and understanding the customer;**
- **being flexible, dynamic, and adaptive;**
- **focusing on people rather than gimmicks and technology;**
- **taking action and risks rather than excessively planning and controlling;**
- **allowing employees to participate rather than just managing them;**
- **cultivating a "passion" throughout the organization for the product and customers;**
- **rallying everyone behind some core values.**

To enhance an organization's performance, these core values should be few in number and should be positive (e.g., serving the community) rather than negative (e.g., making arrests). There has to be consensus around at least these core values. Values must be internally consistent and prioritized. To promote excellence, values should be linked to the key goals of an organization.

Excellence also requires major challenges for leadership in policing. The new leaders must be flexible, taking into account the multitude of forces (from within and without) affecting the organization. The new leaders must be community-oriented and possess solid communication skills. They must be prepared to delegate authority rather than function in an autocratic fashion. To inspire respect and confidence, they must be viewed as intelligent, fair, honest, courageous, and persevering.

The Organization of Policing

Police organizations need to decentralize and perhaps replace their paramilitary structure with a "tiered" organization in which people of different expertise and training can enter at different levels. A tier model is particularly relevant in light of community policing whereby the new position of Community Police Officer may be created. Thus, there may be officers performing more traditional police work, the community officers, specialized personnel (e.g., investigators), and managers. The growing civilianization (e.g., accountants, clerks, etc.) of police departments also makes a shift to a tier model more sensible. Another issue is whether provinces should assume a greater involvement in managing local and provincial policing.

Many forces with high standards of performance are starting to recognize that community policing requires greater responsiveness to the unique needs and characteristics of each community. A related issue is that of regionalization. Should adjacent municipalities form larger regional police forces? Such an amalgamation of resources may avoid the duplication of services but may also remove the police from the community. One compromise is a mixed model whereby specialized services (e.g., investigation) can be pooled to allow community policing to be undertaken by lean, local forces.

Effectiveness and Efficiency

The traditional measures of police effectiveness (e.g., crime rates, number of arrests, solution rates, rapid response) are all flawed in serious ways and do not fit well with the growing view of the public as consumers of police services. Consumer surveys to gauge the public's satisfaction with police services and their sense of security seem more compatible with the idea of community policing. Other useful measures of police performance include such things as the leadership qualities of the chief, the department's ability to communicate with the public, organizational morale and adaptability, and so on.

Accountability and Public Complaints

There are four elements to police accountability: administrative, political, accountability to the community, and legal accountability. With respect to administrative accountability, police departments are increasingly asked to account for the way resources are utilized to demonstrate their effectiveness and efficiency in exploiting their resources. The police are also accountable to elected officials and the police boards and commissions which establish the guidelines for their actions. In the context of community policing, of course, the most important sector to which the police are accountable is the public and their satisfaction with police services. Then, there is legal accountability which is particularly salient in the present day with events involving minorities and the police in some cities. These incidents have underlined the importance of setting high standards in terms of the sensitivity of police personnel to visible minorities. Mechanisms such as public complaints offices are becoming far more prevalent in handling complaints in relation to alleged abuses of police powers. Public

complaints mechanisms can play an educative and preventive role, sensitizing police personnel about minorities and stepping in when tensions between the police and a segment of the community are running high. Ultimately, such bodies can enhance the standing of the police in the community.

Standards and Accreditation

The consideration of national standards for policing may be worthwhile because of the far-reaching responsibilities and powers of the police. Standards are a way of providing formalized, positive guidelines for police work, although they also tend to contain provisions relating to sanctions for misconduct. They can relate to police methods, the use of police discretion, the role of collective bargaining and the right to strike, recruitment and training, and many other areas. For any adoption of national standards, care must be exercised to avoid excessive detail, because such detail will undermine authority and initiative at the local level. A system of accreditation of police agencies could then be established to give the agreed upon standards some teeth.

5. NEW STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS

Partnerships are currently the name of the game in policing. There are a series of important partnerships. One vital set of partnerships involves elected officials, police managers, and police unions and officers. There must be a certain consensus among these sectors about the police mission. The adversarial relationships that have previously prevailed between police management and unions, for example, must give way to more participative management in return for a more conciliatory stance. Located in the middle of this "strategic triad" is the public, with which all the three sectors mentioned must interface on an ongoing basis. Policing is virtually impossible without public cooperation. Also, there is growing recognition of the fact that the ultimate accountability of the police should be to the public.

Vital partnerships must also be formed between the police and other public sector agencies. Recently, attention in the crime prevention area has turned to the notion of social development, in which diverse public sector groups work in an integrated way to assist those persons and groups at highest risk to commit crimes and create other social problems. For example, national level economic policies can impact the employment prospects of disadvantaged groups and determine, in part, whether they will turn to crime. Social services can reach out to dysfunctional families and those lacking in parenting skills. Community leaders and institutions (schools, churches and businesses) can strive to ensure that people develop bonds with the community. The police, through such mechanisms as the Community Police Officer, can identify problems early and serve as a referral to some of these and other services.

Police services must also forge partnerships with local police boards and provincial police commissions. Local boards can perform one or more of the following functions: control of the police budget, involvement in collective bargaining, establishment of rules and regulations, supervision of recruitment, promotions, and dismissals, public relations, and overseeing internal disciplinary matters and public complaints. In practice local police boards have had little authority due to the part-time

nature of membership, the usual lack of expertise in policing matters by members, and the ascendance of provincial police commissions. These commissions set provincial standards and ensure they are enforced. They can typically inspect local forces, monitor the adequacy of municipal services and hold public inquiries into various aspects of these services. They can also review cases dealing with internal disciplinary charges and public complaints lodged against municipal police officers.

6. STRATEGIC RESOURCES

Human resources are a vital part of police departments especially in the context of community policing. As far as recruitment is concerned, the evidence suggests that the advantages of a higher education for recruits outweigh the disadvantages. Even so, if a tier model of police organizations is adopted, blanket policies for all recruits need not be established.

Basic and ongoing training, similarly, can be built around a tier model of police organizations. A Community Police Officer or individual working in a specialized squad might receive an enriched training in the police academy. Ongoing training is also important, given the changing nature of crime, law, and social issues in general. As in the private sector, it might be recommended that between one and two per cent of police annual budgets be allocated to staff development. Those in management can take advantage of executive training opportunities at a number of centres in Canada and the United States (e.g., the Canadian Police College and the FBI's National Executive Institute).

The careers of police personnel would be considerably different in a tiered organization than in the traditional paramilitary structure. People would enter at different levels and might stay at these levels, although their salary and rank would change. They would not simply, by virtue of their seniority, rise to supervisory or managerial levels for which they may not be qualified. If one wished to move to another tier, one would have to complete the necessary educational and training requirements. As far as work-related stress is concerned, it is possible that community policing, which tries to break down the social isolation of police personnel and organizations, will provide more fulfilment for police officers and reduce many stress-related problems.

As far as financial resources are concerned, police departments can no longer rely on steady growth in their operating budgets. As such, the emphasis is on doing more with less. The tier model of organization may help in the sense that for some police work, people can be recruited with high school diplomas and receive less than the $40,000 plus in salary that first-class constables tend to receive in Canada's major cities. Also, many police functions can be shifted to the private security sector and to parallel public safety services. Regionalization of costly equipment and facilities may also help. With community policing, there may be less of an emphasis on costly hardware.

The legal resources of police services may have to be expanded in the future. With the Charter and the growing legal accountability of police departments, legal advice concerning investigative practices is needed on an ongoing basis. In the past, Crown attorneys would be asked for their advice, but it might now be necessary to retain specialized lawyers on staffwho could be involved in the development of police practices and policies.

Technology plays a role in a number of areas: criminal identification and investigation, weapons development, communications systems, and information management. Many of the advances in technology are made by the private sector. Although technology is a necessary part of police work, the question is the extent to which it should be emphasized. For one thing, certain technologies, such as those that enhance surveillance and identification, may carry certain dangers such as the evolution toward greater intrusion into the lives of citizens. Secondly, an obsession with technology may divert attention from the human dimension of policing being stressed increasingly.

Research is an important part of policy/program development and evaluation. Research in the 1970s, particularly that conducted in the United States, paved the way for the questioning of assumptions which underlay police work for decades. Many countries (the United States, England, France, etc.) have prestigious national or private research institutes to conduct both basic and applied research into policing. In Canada, the overall research efforts are disjointed. It is recommended that an autonomous Canadian Police Research Institute be established with links with federal and provincial ministries, academia, police organizations, and foreign institutes. As an alternative, a better identified and financed research unit could be established at the Canadian Police College.

It is now widely recognized that crime prevention is not just a police responsibility. The general public can report crimes and partake in many preventive activities. Both the public and business sector can play a role in preventing their own victimization. Business can also help in reintegrating offenders through providing them better opportunities for employment. The media can promote preventive efforts and pro-social values. Community organizations and public services can aid in the prevention of crime through enhancing the quality of life of citizens; that is, crime prevention through social development.

7. SOME IMPORTANT CHALLENGES

There are some areas on which police departments will have to pay particular emphasis in the years to come. One of these concerns the policing of aboriginal people. There is the problem of equity of treatment, equality of services in aboriginal communities, and the over-representation of aboriginals in the correctional system. Some alternatives in dealing with these problems include allowing Indian and Inuit governments to administer their own police services; having Indian and Inuit contingents within existing police services; or the enhancement of non-Indian and non-Inuit police services to address Indian and Inuit concerns.

Another sensitive issue in the years to come concerns the growing multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada, particularly in the major cities. There is progressively more non-European immigration into Canada. As such, police departments must incorporate sensitivity training into their overall training programs, in order to enhance the relations between themselves and visible minorities. Also, special attention should be paid to making departments representative of the communities being served; thus, more minority recruitment must be undertaken.

Crime victims have long been considered orphans of the criminal justice system and have often been subjected to great insensitivity by the police and other components of this system. The police have been particularly insensitive in relation to such individuals as the victims of family violence, frequently subjecting these persons to a "secondary victimization" upon their response to a call. Many police departments now have special services for crime victims and incorporate sensitivity training into their overall training program in order to deal with such victims in a more satisfactory way.

The issue of illicit drug trafficking and use will be another salient problem in the years to come. The traditional response tended to be exclusively a law enforcement response focused on the reduction of supply. Demand reduction is being given progressively more emphasis and this strategy involves a partnership between police and many other sectors. Also, collaboration is required between police services due to the inter-jurisdictional nature of the problem. The police can become more involved in drug education and prevention efforts.

Another major issue is the effect of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms on police work. Some regard the enhanced legal accountability of the police as a result of the Charter as stifling police work. Certainly, the Charter is paving the way for more internal regulations governing police practices and procedures. The police, however, should regard the Charter as having a positive impact on Canadian society rather than as a hindrance. Police services might view themselves as protectors of individual rights rather than merely law enforcers. To be sure, the Charter is signalling a new era in the relations between the individual and the state.

8. WORK SMARTER: SOME ALTERNATIVES

Given the expectation that fiscal constraints will be present in the long-term, a number of complementary services can aid in fulfilling policing functions. Volunteers constitute a veritable army in Canada--there are over five million in all. For example, some volunteers serve on hot-lines, operate self-help programs, work in correctional programs, and drive intoxicated people home. In any community, as well, there is a large contingent of ex-police officers, retired military personnel, former mental health workers, and able-bodied senior citizens who can aid in solving community problems and conflicts.

Private security is another growing area. There are about two and a half times as many full and part-time private security officers in Canada than there are public police officers. Private security personnel can be in-house or contracted out. In the future, we will see more and more collaboration and partnership between private and public officers. One concern is the standards for private security personnel. Although not as rigorous as for police officers, some private security associations now set standards and have accreditation programs.

There are also many government agencies and public services that provide complementary services to those provided by the police. There is an amalgam of governmental departments and agencies responsible for law enforcement in different areas (fisheries, environment, customs, revenue, etc.). There are parallel public safety forces established, for example, in suburban communities due to the loss of police services caused by regionalization. The personnel in these forces make considerable less money than public police officers. They patrol the streets in uniforms and marked cars, but do not have ordinary police powers. Community fire services can also lend a hand to public police services. Firefighters today are often well trained and can perform such tasks as responding to accidents and promoting prevention programs. Even military personnel, especially in light of growing demilitarization in Europe, might be shifted over to civilian duties.

Civilians, too, can assist police services with a variety of functions. With "no fault" insurance schemes, Amicable Agreements can be arrived at between the parties to car accidents without involving the police. Or, if the police are called to the scene, they might charge the client or the client's insurance company. Private security companies can respond when private security alarms have been triggered. Civilians can take over many preventive patrol and traffic functions, at considerable savings.

9. FOR A VISION OF THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA

What will policing be like in the 1990s and beyond? Hopefully, police departments will be dynamic organizations at the forefront of change, rather than managers of the status quo. A fundamental shift will take place from the professional, elitist style of policing to community policing. Problem solving, the human element and accountability to the public will supplant the reactive, militaristic and aloof organizations of the past. There will be more of a focus on public fear, community disorder, and issues that have previously been regarded as private matters or nuisance problems (e.g., domestic violence, citizen disputes).

The new vision of the police is one in which departments are responsive to the public, including elected officials and citizens in agenda-setting. It is a vision in which police get closer to the public, both psychologically and physically (through reintroducing systematically foot patrols, for example). It is a vision in which the problems underlying crime incidents are dealt with, as opposed to a mere reactive, after-the-fact approach. The vision is one in which human resources, both within and outside police resources, are given greater emphasis than glitzy solutions relying on hardware and high technology. Police organizations will need to pursue excellence and "total quality" services just like

private sector organizations. The key here is rallying personnel around some core values and instilling in them a passion for the organization and the public as the consumers of police services. Also, flexible, honest, competent, and egalitarian leadership will be vital. The police department of the future will need to realize that it cannot achieve its goals autonomously--partnership with other agencies and services is the name of the game. The police must recognize that they are just one part of a community-wide effort to promote safe and healthy communities.

Risks must be taken to deal with these and other challenges as well as economic, political, social, cultural and ecological problems. The national consultation revealed that the police and other community leaders are ready to face the challenges of the 1990s and the year 2000. But it will be "tough". It will require creative imagination and hard work.

I. INTRODUCTION: POLICING IN CANADA

1.1 THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS DISCUSSION PAPER

A "vision" is a way of seeing, of envisaging a series of complex things. A "vision of the future" is a means of projecting certain ideas that are partially rooted in the reality of the present and predicting their development over the coming years.

A VISION OF THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA: POLICE-CHALLENGE 2000 presents just such a vision of the imminent changes anticipated in the role and organization of policing in Canada.

Although demographers often predict trends twenty-five, fifty or even one hundred years into the future, this paper on policing is less ambitious because the variables involved are more complex. A time frame of ten years, namely 1990 to 2000, has been used. The document attempts to present a qualitative view of changes in policing rather than a statistical projection of demographic or economic data. Nonetheless, this reflection on policing takes account of certain demographic trends that have had an impact on the direction it will take; for example, the impact of an aging society.

The main ideas contained in this study on policing have already been put into day-to-day practice in some police forces, or have been applied on an experimental basis. This is the case with the community policing model which is the cornerstone of the present-day vision of policing. The document will make no attempt to "reinvent the world"; it will draw from the most innovative practices in Canadian policing in an attempt to integrate the knowledge of practitioners into a coherent whole.

As a "Discussion Paper", this vision is submitted to the Canadian public, especially:

- elected officials;
- senior police officials;
- police officers of all ranks;
- government employees directly or indirectly responsible for policing policies, programs and researches; and
- individuals concerned with policing within the context, for example, of community crime prevention committees or university research groups conducting evaluative studies in this field.

The paper makes no attempts to impose a particular philosophy or a party line. It is simply offering for the widest possible "public debate" a vision, certain elements of which must be adapted to specific local or regional contexts, while others can be replaced by appropriate alternatives.

The final characteristic of this paper should already be apparent to the reader: the document is relatively modest. Because it is not a formal government commission of inquiry or a classic research report, it presents only certain essential elements of a vision of policing.

A VISION OF THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA: POLICE-CHALLENGE 2000 is now a matter for public consideration.

It is one vision. Do you share it? In whole or in part? Do you have alternatives? Overall or in part?

The discussion has been opened in order to identify the major directions for Canadian policing between now and the year 2000 and to take the necessary steps to make them a reality.

This is the ultimate objective of this discussion paper.

1.2 A NATIONAL CONSULTATION

The paper was prepared on the basis of several sources of information, namely:

a) A selective review of general and scientific literature on policing, particularly in Canada (September-December 1989);

b) Preliminary personal meetings with some twenty (20) Canadian specialists in the field of policing, including both practitioners and police officers, and professors and researchers (September-December 1989);

c) Interviews with more than fifty (50) Canadians, including elected officials, police officers, government employees and concerned citizens (January-April 1990);

d) Group discussions with more than five hundred (500) Canadians, including elected officials, police officers, government employees and concerned citizens (January-April 1990);

e) A focused seminar on the future of policing in Canada held jointly in Winnipeg by the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada and the University of Manitoba (March 1990). Twenty-five (25) police officers and academics shared their views. The Canadian Journal of Criminology (Ottawa) will publish a number of the papers prepared for this seminar in 1991.

The average interview ran one and a half hours, while group discussions lasted between two and four hours, depending on the availability of the participants. These groups were sometimes homogeneous (ten mayors or five police chiefs, for example), and sometimes heterogenous (a group consisting of twenty elected officials, police officers, government employees and citizens, for example). The smallest groups were one consisting of three government employees from a provincial police commission, and another consisting of the three associate deputy ministers of a provincial department. The largest groups included one which consisted of thirty-five police officers from a municipal police force in a large Canadian city, another consisting of thirty police chiefs belonging to a provincial association of police chiefs, and still another consisting of twenty-five representatives of Canadian police unions and associations.

The five hundred and eighty-six (586) Canadians who took part in the consultations represented all of the provinces, territories and regions of Canada (Table 1). They represented all the target groups concerned with policing, namely:

ELECTED OFFICIALS	51
POLICE CHIEFS AND ASSOCIATES	211
POLICE ASSOCIATIONS / UNIONS	53
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES / DEPARTMENTS	131
CITIZENS / COMMUNITY	140
TOTAL	586

The list of individuals consulted is available from the Police and Security Branch of the Ministry Secretariat (User Report).

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF THE 586 CANADIANS CONSULTED REGARDING THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA, BY PROVINCE OR TERRITORY, AND REGION

PROVINCE / TERRITORY		REGION	
NEWFOUNDLAND	13	ATLANTIC	119
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	14		
NOVA SCOTIA	75		
NEW BRUNSWICK	17		
QUEBEC	116	QUEBEC	116
ONTARIO	212	ONTARIO	212
MANITOBA	26	PRAIRIES	125
SASKATCHEWAN	27	AND	
ALBERTA	42		
BRITISH COLOMBIA	30	PACIFIC	
YUKON	2	TERRITORIES	14
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	12		
TOTAL	586	TOTAL	586

These five hundred and eighty-six (586) Canadians were not randomly selected and do not represent a scientific sample. This was not the purpose of the project.

Officials from the Ministry's regional offices, in co-operation with those responsible for the project, invited individuals who, in their opinion, had an important role or particular interest in matters of policing. For example, all the provincial departments responsible for provincial policing legislation actively participated in the consultation. The chiefs of police of all the cities visited and many of their associates also participated. The interviews and discussions took place in the capital cities of the ten provinces and in several other cities:

- St. John's : Newfoundland
- Charlottetown : Prince Edward Island
- Halifax : Nova Scotia
- Fredericton : New Brunswick
- Quebec City : Quebec
- Montreal : Quebec
- Toronto : Ontario
- Ottawa : Ontario
- Winnipeg : Manitoba
- Regina : Saskatchewan
- Saskatoon : Saskatchewan
- Edmonton : Alberta
- Calgary : Alberta
- Victoria : British Columbia
- Vancouver : British Columbia

This discussion paper is the result of consultations in which the Ministry's team "freely" exchanged observations and opinions with the participants, who expressed themselves "without reservation" on the future of policing in Canada.

A consultation guide, qualitative in emphasis, served as a point of reference without, however, limiting the discussions. This guide raised a number of questions on some of the twenty-three selected topics (Table 2). The list of topics was relatively exhaustive; nevertheless, it left room for the participants to introduce new topics. The guide is available through the Police and Security Branch of the Ministry Secretariat (User Report).

TABLE 2

GUIDE FOR CONSULTATION ON THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA
LIST OF THE TWENTY-THREE (23) PRINCIPAL TOPICS

Q 1-	environmental assessment (economy, demography, immigration, public opinion ...);
Q 2-	trends and patterns in crime;
Q 3-	community-based policing;
Q 4-	professionalism and policing;
Q 5-	effectiveness, efficiency and accountability;
Q 6-	police discipline and ethics;
Q 7-	police associations/unions;
Q 8	aboriginal peoples and policing;
Q 9-	ethnic communities and policing;
Q10-	police recruitment;
Q11-	police training;
Q12-	police powers;
Q13-	technology and policing;
Q14-	applied research in policing;
Q15-	the role of elected officials;
Q16-	the role of ministries and departments;
Q17-	the role of police commissions;
Q18-	the role of para-professional volunteers;
Q19-	private security;
Q20-	Sir Robert Peel's principles of policing;
Q21-	mission statement about Canadian police;
Q22-	doing more and better with less resources;
Q23-	an open question!

By and large, this discussion paper reflects the way in which a certain number of Canadian leaders envisage the future of policing. Because this is not a classic empirical study, it cannot be said that a mathematical majority of fifty-five or seventy-five per cent of these leaders now support the community-based policing model, for example. However, when we state, a little further on, that there now exists a growing consensus with respect to this model, the reader will understand that the consultations indicated that the majority of leaders who participated were in favour of the model. And since the leaders usually have a sense of history, community policing stands every chance of playing a major role in the future of policing in Canada. This paper will examine this point again later.

1.3 POLICING AND THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION

Canada is a federal state in which jurisdiction over legal matters is shared. The Constitution Act of 1867, the British North America Act, which is still in force, gives the federal Parliament (Ottawa) the authority to legislate "criminal law, including procedure in criminal matters", pursuant to subsection 91(27); however, pursuant to subsection 92(14), the ten provinces are responsible for the "administration of justice".

Legal, administrative and financial responsibility for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police falls within the jurisdiction of the Government of Canada (RCMP Act, RSC 1986, c R-9 and regulations). Created in 1873 under the name "North West Mounted Police" and modelled after the famous "Royal Irish Constabulary", the RCMP derives its constitutional authority from the "peace, order and good government" provision in section 91. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, as it has been known since 1920, is responsible for enforcing federal statutes, other than the Criminal Code, at the national level. For example, the RCMP, in co-operation with other government agencies, sees to the enforcement of the Narcotic Control Act, the Food and Drugs Act, the Customs Act, the Excise Tax Act, the Immigration Act, the Migratory Birds Convention Act and so on. It also provides security and protection services for many Canadian and foreign officials, airport security services and so on. The Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada has been responsible for the RCMP since 1966.

Moreover, when called upon to do so, the RCMP enforces the Criminal Code in a significant part of Canada. It provides provincial police services (outside cities) in eight of the ten provinces (except Quebec and Ontario), under "voluntary" contractual arrangements with the provinces. At one time, these eight provinces had their own provincial police forces. For example, British Columbia established its own police force in 1858 (thirteen years before entering Confederation); this autonomous force was maintained from 1871 to 1950. Historical and economic factors explain this situation, particularly the depression of the 1930s and the economic recession of the early 1950s, especially since the federal government partly defrays the cost of the RCMP in these eight provinces.

The RCMP is also responsible for providing municipal police services in 191 municipalities in these eight provinces, on a contractual basis with these municipalities. With a few exceptions (British Columbia, for example), these are small municipalities.

With respect to Canada's two territories - the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory - the provision of police services, at both at the territorial and municipal levels, is the exclusive responsibility of the RCMP. Services are provided on a contractual basis similar to the situation in the provinces.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act outlines the mandate and traditional mission of the police in Canada using a number of key concepts: the preservation of peace and order, the prevention of crime and the pursuit and apprehension of criminals.

> It is the duty of members . . . to perform all duties that are assigned to peace officers in relation to the preservation of peace, the prevention of crime, and of offences against the laws of Canada and the laws in force in any province in which they may be employed, and the apprehension of criminals and offenders and others who may be lawfully taken into custody (RSC 1986, c R-9, s 18(a).

Moreover, the provincial governments, pursuant to their constitutional authority with respect to the "administration of justice", assume legal responsibility for provincial and municipal policing. Hence, provincial legislation on policing has been enacted by each of the provinces. However, the administrative and financial responsibility rests with each municipality. Furthermore, Quebec and Ontario assume the legal, administrative and financial responsibility for their provincial police forces, namely the Quebec Provincial Police (Sûreté du Québec), created in 1870, and the Ontario Provincial Police, created in 1909. The latter assumes responsibility for municipal policing in twenty-two small municipalities in Ontario on a contractual basis. The Quebec Ministry of Public Security and the Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General oversee these two provincial police forces.

A special situation exists in Newfoundland, which has no municipal police forces. The province established the "Royal Newfoundland Constabulary" (RNC) which, since 1950, has been sharing responsibility for the provision of services with the RCMP. In fact, the RCMP provides services across the province, with the exception of St. John's, the capital, and two other cities which are policed by the RNC.

Within the context of Canadian democracy and pursuant to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, political responsibility for policing is an important matter. The Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada and the ten provinces responsible for provincial policing legislation share this responsibility within the limits of their respective jurisdictions. Through the branches or divisions responsible for policing, and sometimes through the provincial police commissions, they set standards, issue directives, develop policies, and fund programs, projects and research related to policing. They are also responsible for the administration and funding of police institutions (colleges, academies and so on).

At the regional and municipal levels, democratic control is assumed in a more direct manner by mayors and municipal councillors. More and more, this control is being exercised by boards of commissioners made up of members elected at the local and regional level, and members appointed by the provincial governments.

This democratic control of policing is a "trademark" of modern police forces. This type of policing was developed in Canada in the mid-nineteenth century, following England's adoption of the London Metropolitan Police Act in 1829 and the renowned principles proposed at that time by Sir Robert Peel, then Home Secretary. According to him, "the police are the public and the public are the police . . .". Sir Robert Peel's nine principles are reproduced in Annex A. In our opinion, these principles are still quite useful.

In the past, public security was provided by the army, local army militia or unpaid citizens who volunteered their services, and was overseen by the justices of the peace. A "watch and ward" system consisting of constables and watchmen was in place at the time. Following the 1837-38 rebellion in Lower Canada (Quebec), two police forces were created in 1838: one in Quebec City and one in Montreal. These police forces were initially under the control of the government, which appointed and remunerated the officers. Their mission was to ensure ". . . the maintenance of peace and the prevention of thefts and other crimes, and the apprehension of those who break the peace". In 1843, these government police forces were replaced by municipal police forces under the control of the first elected municipal councils.

At about the same time in Upper Canada (Ontario), the City of Toronto, created pursuant to the Charter of 1834, elected its mayor and municipal council. It was within the council's jurisdiction to appoint and remunerate the police officers, and regulate the city's police force. In 1835, the council passed a resolution that "five people be appointed to act as police constables". In 1849, the "Baldwin Act" established in each municipality in the province an elected municipal council and a police force similar to that which existed in Toronto. In 1858, an amendment to the "Baldwin Act" modified the police system in the five large cities of Upper Canada by introducing the concept of "boards of commissioners of police". These boards consisted of the mayor, a peace officer appointed by the province - the 'recorder" and a police magistrate. A balance was thereby sought between political control at the local and regional levels on the one hand, and a certain provincial government presence on the other, without ignoring the desire of senior police officials to maintain a certain level of autonomy or "professional" independence.

Hence, in the mid-nineteenth century, policing in Canada was conducive to the sharing of authority for this field among the various levels of government. Naturally, the Canadian Constitution of 1867 and subsequent provincial legislations reflected this situation.

1.4 55,000 POLICE OFFICERS / $5 BILLION

It is estimated that at the end of 1990, the number of public sector police officers in Canada who are sworn officers will be approximately 55,000. The last official survey, taken in 1988, counted 53,312 police officers.

It is also estimated that in 1990, total operating expenses for police forces in Canada will amount to approximately $5 billion. At the time of the last official survey in 1988, expenditures amounted to $4.39 billion.

According to 1990 estimates, the average salary of a first-class constable in Canada (three to five years of experience or more), will be over $40,000. Within the five largest police forces in the country, namely the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Ontario Provincial Police, the Quebec Provincial Police, the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force and the Montreal Urban Community Police Service, a first-class constable will be paid an average of more than $47,000 in 1990. At the time of the last official survey in 1988, the average salary was $36,854 for the whole of the country and $41,560 for the five largest forces.

A) Police Force Personnel

In 1988 (the most recent year for which statistics have been published on this subject), slightly over 72,000 people were employed in the 411 different police forces in Canada. Of this number, 53,312 (74 %) were sworn peace officers, while the remainder were civilian technical and administrative personnel. Of the 53,312 police officers, a little more than one quarter (26 %) were members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 17 % worked for provincial police forces (the Ontario Provincial Police, the Quebec Provincial Police) and 57 % were members of municipal or regional police forces (Table 3).

TABLE 3

POLICE PERSONNEL IN CANADA (1988)

SERVICE	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	OFFICERS %	NUMBER OF CIVILIANS	CIVILIANS %	TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES
1) Royal Canadian Mounted Police	13,655	25.6	6,541	34.5	20,196
2) Metropolitan Toronto Police Force	5,373	10.1	1,880	9.9	7,250
3) Ontario Provincial Police	4,526	8.5	1,391	7.3	5,917
4) Montreal Urban Community Police Service	4,457	8.4	1,265	6.7	5,722
5) Quebec Provincial Police	4,325	8.1	1,053	5.5	5,378
6) Royal Newfoundland Constabulary	382	0.7	62	0.3	444
7) New Brunswick Highway Patrol*	114	0.2	56	0.3	170
8) Other municipal and regional police forces**	20,480	38.4	6,737	35.5	27,220
Total	53,312 Officers	100.0 % Officers	18,985 Civilians	100.0 % Civilians	72,297 Employees

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA ***

* Abolished in 1989 in favour of the RCMP.

** 1) Not including the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force and the Montreal Urban Community Police Service.
2) Not including RCMP and OPP contracts.

*** Statistics Canada counts all police forces in Canada, with the exception of security guards and private investigators, military police and various federal and provincial departments employing special officers with limited powers for the enforcement of certain legislation.

Canada's five largest police forces account for more than 60 % of all officers in the country. The municipal police forces account for 65 % of all police officers in Canada.

Although the RCMP does not provide provincial and municipal police services in Ontario and Quebec, it does provide services to the entire population (100 %) of the two territories, 78 % of the population in Prince Edward Island, 70 % in British Columbia, 65 % in Newfoundland, 62 % in Nova Scotia, 57 % in New Brunswick, 55 % in Saskatchewan, 43 % in Alberta and 37 % in Manitoba. In Canada as a whole, including Ontario and Quebec, the RCMP provides provincial and municipal police services to 21.5 % of the population.

Women comprise 5.1 % of police officers and more than half of the civilian personnel. In the early 1960s, policewomen represented 0.5 % of officers. Women now represent 18.8 % of total employees (officers and civilians). Although civilian employees currently account for 26 % of all police force employees, it is interesting to note that they accounted for 17 % in 1962, 22 % in 1972 and 26 % in 1982. This last percentage is representative of the figures throughout the 1980s.

In 1988, there was one police officer for every 486 Canadians. Of the provinces, Prince Edward Island has the highest ratio of inhabitants per officer, namely one officer for every 712 inhabitants, while Quebec has the lowest, namely one officer for every 467 people. Ontario closely follows Quebec (Table 4).

Historically (1962 to 1988) the number of officers per 100,000 population has increased steadily from 140 in 1962 to 210 in 1975. This ratio has been stable since the mid-1970s and has stayed about the same since then, owing to the economic crisis and budgetary restrictions facing public services (Table 5 and Figure "A"). In fact, between 1962 and 1975, the number of police officers increased more rapidly than the ratio of inhabitants per officer. The number of inhabitants per officer dropped from 670 to 448. However, during the following thirteen years, from 1976 to 1988, this trend became relatively stable, remaining between 449 and 493. Meanwhile, between 1962 and 1988, the number of offences recorded per police officer increased from 19.7 in 1962, to 28.9 in 1972, to 43.6 in 1982 and 44.9 in 1988 (Table 5 and Figure "B").

B) The Cost of Policing

In 1988, the cost of policing in Canada amounted to $4.39 billion, or $169 per capita. At the provincial level, the per capita cost of policing was highest in Quebec and Ontario and lowest in the Atlantic provinces.

The five largest forces also had the largest budgets. They have more police officers, but also the highest salaries. They accounted for nearly 70 % of the overall cost of policing in Canada (Table 6). The cost of municipal policing (including RCMP and OPP contracts) represented the major part (53 %) of total expenditures on policing. Next came provincial police services (30 %), federal policing (9 %) and other RCMP expenditures (8 %).

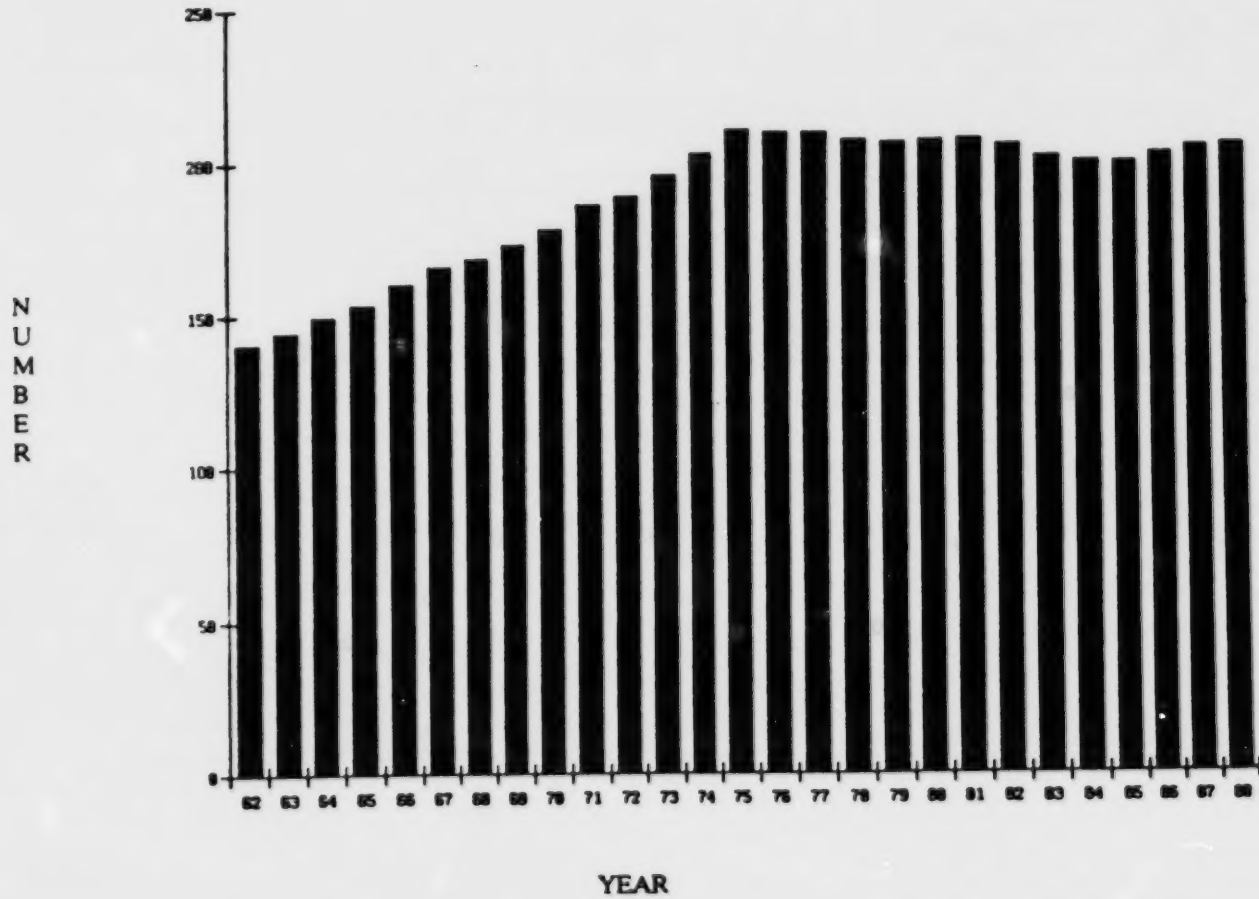
In 1988-89, provinces, territories, and municipalities with fewer than 15,000 inhabitants assumed 66 % of the cost of contracts concluded with the RCMP, the federal government's share being 34 %. Municipalities with more than 15,000 inhabitants paid 88 % of costs, while the federal government paid 12 %. In 1990-91, the federal government's share will be 30 % and 10 %, respectively.

A Statistics Canada survey indicated that between 1966 and 1987, the average salary of a first-class constable increased sixfold, from $6,000 to nearly $37,000. Taking the cost of living index into consideration, the real increase during this period was 55 %. Significant gains were realized mainly between 1966 and 1976.

The question is: with 55,000 police officers and a budget of $5 billion in 1990, are police forces ready to deal with the challenge of the environment of the 1990s and the year 2000 in terms of its demographic, political, economic, social and cultural considerations, not to mention the challenges specifically related to the trends and patterns of crime and justice in the coming years?

FIGURE "A"

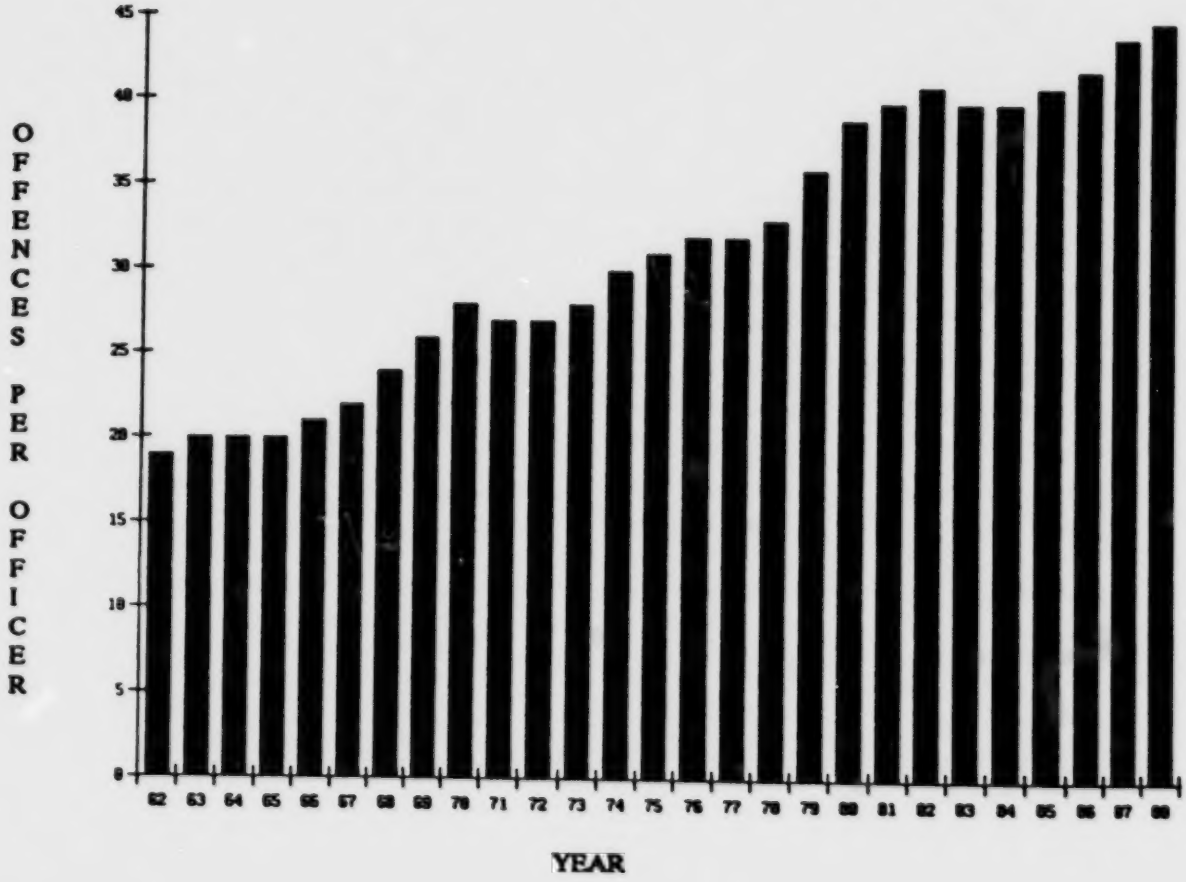
NUMBER OF POLICE OFFICERS IN CANADA BY 100 000 POPULATION: 1962 -1988



Source: Statistics Canada

FIGURE "B"

CRIMINAL CODE OFFENCES IN CANADA PER POLICE OFFICER: 1962-1988



Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE 4

POLICE PERSONNEL ACCORDING TO PROVINCE AND POPULATION, 1988

PROVINCE	POPULATION	NUMBER OF OFFICERS PER PROVINCE	NUMBER OF INHABITANTS PER OFFICER
Newfoundland	568,000	904	628
P.E.I.	128,000	181	712
Nova Scotia	882,800	1,445	611
New Brunswick	714,300	1,230	581
Quebec	6,638,300	14,207	467
Ontario	9,426,100	19,563	482
Manitoba	1,084,000	2,071	523
Saskatchewan	1,012,800	1,929	525
Alberta	2,395,200	4,205	570
British Columbia	2,983,800	5,628	530
Yukon	25,300	101	250
N.W.T.	52,300	204	256
Other (RCMP)		1,644	
CANADA	25,911,800	53,312	486

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA

TABLE 5

POLICE PERSONNEL IN CANADA: 1962-1988

Year	Population	Police Personnel: Police	Police Personnel: Civilian	Police Personnel: Total	Total Cost	Offences	Police / 100,000 pop.	Offences /Officer	Pol/ Civ.	Cap. Cost
	(000's)				($000's)					($)
1962	18,583.0	26,129	5,699	31,828	...	514,986	140.6	19.7	4.58	...
1963	18,931.0	27,333	5,935	33,269	...	572,105	144.4	20.9	4.61	...
1964	19,291.0	28,823	6,655	35,478	...	626,038	149.4	21.7	4.33	...
1965	19,644.0	30,146	7,133	37,279	...	628,418	153.5	20.8	4.23	...
1966	20,014.9	32,086	7,583	39,669	...	702,809	160.3	21.9	4.23	...
1967	20,378.0	33,792	8,018	41,810	...	784,568	165.8	23.2	4.21	...
1968	20,701.0	34,887	8,351	43,239	...	897,530	168.5	25.7	4.18	...
1969	21,001.0	36,342	8,963	45,305	...	994,790	173.1	27.4	4.05	...
1970	21,297.0	37,949	9,936	47,885	...	1,110,066	178.2	29.3	3.82	...
1971	21,568.3	40,148	10,597	50,745	...	1,166,458	186.1	29.1	3.79	...
1972	21,801.3	41,214	11,762	52,976	...	1,189,805	189.0	28.9	3.50	...
1973	22,043.0	43,142	12,297	55,439	...	1,298,551	195.7	30.1	3.51	...
1974	22,363.9	45,276	12,085	57,361	...	1,456,885	202.5	32.2	3.75	...
1975	22,697.1	47,713	13,794	61,508	...	1,585,805	210.2	33.2	3.46	...
1976	22,992.6	48,213	14,377	62,590	...	1,637,704	209.7	34.0	3.35	...
1977	23,272.8	48,764	15,231	63,994	...	1,654,020	209.5	33.9	3.20	...
1978	23,517.0	48,705	15,749	64,455	...	1,714,297	207.1	35.2	3.09	...
1979	23,747.3	48,990	15,001	63,990	...	1,855,271	206.3	37.9	3.27	...
1980	24,042.5	49,841	16,410	66,251	...	2,045,399	207.3	41.0	3.04	...
1981	24,341.7	50,563	16,999	67,562	...	2,168,201	207.7	42.9	2.97	...
1982	24,583.1	50,539	17,738	68,277	...	2,203,668	205.6	43.6	2.85	...
1983	24,787.2	50,081	17,342	67,423	...	2,148,633	202.0	42.9	2.89	...
1984	24,978.2	50,010	17,503	67,514	...	2,147,697	200.2	42.9	2.86	...
1985	25,165.4	50,351	17,702	68,053	3,542,240	2,174,175	200.1	43.2	2.84	141
1986	25,353.0	51,425	17,855	69,280	3,772,217	2,277,749	202.8	44.3	2.88	149
1987	25,617.3	52,510	19,140	71,650	4,027,809	2,352,403	205.0	44.8	2.74	157
1988	25,909.2	53,312	18,985	72,297	4,389,414	2,392,419	205.8	44.9	2.81	169

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA

TABLE 6

COST OF THE MAJOR POLICE SERVICES

FORCE	ANNUAL COST (000. $)		AVERAGE FIRST-CLASS CONSTABLE SALARY	
	1988	1990	1988	1990
Royal Canadian Mounted Police	1,508	1,679	$40,685	$47,111
Metropolitan Toronto Police Force	415	487	$41,867	$48,736
Ontario Provincial Police	367	424	$41,305	$47,526
Montreal Urban Community Police Service	315	353	$42,640	$47,011
Quebec Provincial Police	435	502	$41,305	$47,100
TOTAL	3,040	3,445	$41,560	$47,497

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA (1988)
ESTIMATIONS (1990)

II. THE ENVIRONMENT OF POLICING BY THE YEAR 2000

By its very nature, the task of sketching a picture of the environment of policing in the year 2000 is part of the art of conjecture. The success of forecasting trends depends on the time frame and on what is being studied. On the one hand, predicting demographic trends over a relatively short period, such as the 10 years invited here, has a fairly sound basis in statistical methods as well as a proven track record. By contrast, forecasting Canadian economic trends within a turbulent world economy over even a 10 month period is fraught with difficulties. Between these extremes lie attempts at predicting the impact of political, technological, social, and cultural changes, all with very mixed results.

Forecasting is also enhanced by "looking in the rear-view mirror", as Marshall McLuhan recommended. However, there is little room in this brief exercise for retrospection to supplement insight into the present, all of which would aid our foresight into trends towards the next century. As well, some of the most influential sources of change are relatively unpredictable, such as AIDS and environmental catastrophes. As a result, this chapter merely identifies some of the main trends and hints at their possible impact on the policing environment over the next ten years.

2.1 DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

A) Aging

While the population is not aging as fast as was earlier predicted, population projections indicate that, in the foreseeable future, Canada is nevertheless faced with an aging population. This conclusion is based mainly on two trends: low fertility and increasing life expectancy.

Low and declining fertility has continued in the aftermath of the "baby boom" followed by the "baby bust". The fertility rate has dropped below the replacement rate of 2.1 children for each woman to a rate of 1.7 in recent years. Projections show that the national rate may continue to decline, possibly reaching 1.2 by 2001 with a "baby deficit." This will leave the World War II baby boom cohort as a bulge of older Canadians (aged 65 and over) at almost one quarter of the population by the year 2030 and probably 13% by the turn of the century (compared with 8.2% in 1971). However, when coupled with the impact of **increasing life expectancy**, particularly for men, then the front end of the bulge of older Canadians will be extended. Canada has an older population when compared with the U.S., Australia and New Zealand, but one which is younger than most European countries, although the population profile of Sweden in 1985 may represent the demographic future of Canada.

The Canadian population is expected to increase in size until about the year 2010 before starting a decline. This decline could possibly be slowed or reversed through immigration but the impact on the population size of current levels of immigration appear to be negligible and the massive numbers of immigrants required for a significant impact could be viewed as impractical.

There are other aspects to this aging trend, based on the baby boom bulge passing into middle-age in 2000, with the first baby boomers reaching age 65 in the year 2011. A **more competitive labour** market is developing, based on a proportionately smaller labour force. The labour force will grow at a slower rate over the next 10 years than over the past twenty and will increasingly be comprised of fewer young adults and more women and "older" Canadians, resulting in the "greying" and "feminizing" of the labour force. Indeed, the representation in the labour force of youth and young adults (aged 17-24) is expected to drop to 17% by the turn of the century, from a high of 27% in 1974. Conversely, a labour force comprised of 49% over the age of 34 in 1986, is expected to have almost 60% in this age group by the year 2000. Although the decline in the proportion of younger Canadians is compounded by delayed entry into the labour force due to rising enrolment rates at post-secondary institutions, labour market conditions over the next decade will make it easier for young Canadians to obtain jobs. Similarly, the participation of women in a more competitive labour force will continue to increase, rising from 49% of women in 1979 to 58% in 1989, possibly reaching two thirds by the turn of the century. Scenarios showing female labour force participation equal to that of males by 2006 predict an increase in the Gross Domestic Product per household of 10%, demonstrating the economic impact of such participation.

The competitive labour market may also entice greater participation by older workers (age 55 and over), reversing the trend for older workers whose participation declined between 1969 and 1989 from 36% to 27%. As well, many new jobs will be filled by existing workers who have been retrained. However, new jobs being created increasingly require higher levels of education and, of those workers who will make up the largest proportion of the labour force in the year 2000, about six in ten have no more than secondary school education.

The aging society trend also brings a **growing dependency** of the older segment of the population on social services, health care, housing, etc. all of which must be supported by a shrinking proportion of the population in the labour force. Given differences in life expectancy, the majority of elderly Canadians will, increasingly as they grow older, tend to be women. Economically, there will be more elderly at risk of being poor, based on the possibility of declining incomes (e.g., inadequate or exhausted pensions). Well-off elderly are likely to cluster in greater concentrations in Canada's "sun belts", such as Victoria and the Okanagan Valley in B.C., while less advantaged elderly Canadians may be marooned in deteriorating or inappropriate housing in larger cities.

With respect to police personnel, the average age of all police officers in 1986 was 37.3 years, with men older than women by an average of six years. Further, given the preponderance of male police officers, police forces are aging rapidly, with just over half of all policemen in 1986 aged 35-54 compared with just under 40% of all males in the labour force.

Some **implications for police work** of these expectations include:

- Over the next twenty years there will be lower overall crime rates and decreased rates for property crime and traditional street crime, based on a smaller proportion of the male population entering the crime prone years of late teens and early twenties for involvement in crime and delinquency, particularly property crime.

- Overall victimization rates will also decline, because young males also represent the greatest proportion of victims i.e., they victimize themselves.

- There may still be a hard core of young adults committing violent crime, drawn from a significant group of unemployed, poorly educated, economically dispossessed youth. Many of these teenagers and young adults will be recidivists, thus encouraging police forces to target them for surveillance.

- A large part of violent crime will be associated with drugs and drug trafficking, particularly with hard drugs. However, with a smaller youthful population there will be a declining recreational use of soft drugs.

- With education more available for a smaller youth population then there will be more educated young adults who are at risk of engaging in sophisticated white collar crime, such as computer assisted fraud, financial crimes, corporate crimes, theft of intellectual property.

- Offences and incidents based on the physical, psychologically or intellectual infirmities of a minority of the elderly will increase proportionately with their numbers, such as driving offences and incidents related to Alzheimer's disease while others will become victims of abuse by spouses, children and care-givers.

- While older Canadians have the lowest statistical risk of being victims of crime generally, they usually have the highest fear of personal victimization; hence fear of crime generally will increase.

- Older Canadians, who increasingly will be single or widowed women living alone, are likely to ask for greater services from the police, and will broaden the kinds of non-crime related services required.

- Older Canadians are more likely to become targets of fraud and other non-violent offences because they are sometimes physically, psychologically and intellectually more vulnerable.

Implications of these trends **for police organizations** include:

- On average, Canadian police forces represent an aging work force that was largely recruited during the early 1970's when police departments grew in response to rapidly growing crime rates and police budgets. Consequently, there will be a large proportion of officers retiring in clusters, choosing early retirement despite the removal of mandatory retirement requirements, leaving large

gaps in upper management. Aggressive recruitment and innovative human resource strategies will be required in order to replace them.

- Alternatives to traditional police personnel may include a greater proportion of civilians in a support capacity, more flexible working hours and shift work, part-time work, lateral entry, later entry, return of women from child-rearing, auxiliary officers.

- Because of the more competitive labour market, and the "blue collar" nature of the profession at the entry level, fewer qualified young Canadians may apply to become police officers; there may be pressure to lower education standards; however, this may be offset by increasing the already competitive salaries of police officers and by aggressive recruitment strategies.

- Police forces will become "feminized" following the labour shortage, the decline of public violence, and increasing demands for services unrelated to crime and events requiring physical strength. A more balanced gender representation in police forces will result in female officers eventually attaining senior levels, including chief and commissioner ranks.

- The shift in focus away from traditional street crime will free up police resources to focus on new and emerging forms of crime, such as environmental crime, white collar, and corporate crime, etc.

B) Ethnicity and Immigration

The current racial and ethnic structure of Canada reflects the presence of the aboriginal inhabitants and of the initial European immigration, primarily by the French and English settlers as two of the founding nations of Canada. Subsequent immigration came from Britain and the countries of northern and western Europe, with large numbers of eastern European immigrants settling in the Prairie provinces during the early part of this century. As a result, Canada is now a nation based largely on immigrants.

Aboriginal Peoples

The representation of Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian population has declined from 100% prior to European immigration to about 2% at the present time, primarily in remote and rural areas of the Western Provinces and the two Territories. However, with a fertility rate about 50% higher than the rest of the population and a shorter average life expectancy (about ten years shorter than the Canadian average), the Aboriginal population is not only becoming younger but forms a growing proportional representation in the population of Canada.

At present, about half or more of Aboriginal peoples live in urban areas. Internal migration patterns indicate a significant number of young Native persons will continue moving to cities, principally in the prairie provinces, where employment prospects are not encouraging and are located in low status work. Indeed, Native incomes are on average about two-thirds those of other Canadians while the

proportion who have not attended high school is twice that of other Canadians. Unemployment, dependence on welfare, and increased family breakdown are some of the outcomes. As a result, there is the prospect of increasing poverty among Native peoples in urban areas, possibly concentrated in areas of inadequate housing. When coupled with the decline of supportive language and traditional cultures, the present and future for Canada's indigenous peoples is not a bright one.

These factors lead to the over-representation of Aboriginal peoples in prisons. As well, the deployment of police resources and officers on a per capita basis is significantly greater in the remote northern and hinterland areas where Aboriginal peoples are represented in greater numbers than elsewhere. Consequently, there is a greater chance of Aboriginal peoples coming into conflict with the law.

Immigration

Since the initial waves of French and English immigration, Canada's demographic map is now fairly permanent in terms of the proportion of the population in each region, despite subsequent immigration and internal migration between provinces.

As well, the proportion of the population that is foreign born appears to have become stable at around 15%. This is because large numbers of immigrants have generally been offset by similar increases in Canadians leaving the country, usually for the U.S. Because immigrants do not appear to have larger families than Canadian-born families, the only potential impact of immigration on the size of the population would be if immigrant families include a greater number of young children than the number which left the country, thus having the same impact as an increase in the birth rate. Consequently, immigration at historic levels and composition is likely to have little impact on the size of the Canadian population. Nonetheless, in order to counteract the declining population, future government policies may seek to increase in massive proportions the numbers of immigrants into Canada and to target immigrants with specific skills.

Recent immigration has shifted from Europe (especially Great Britain) and the U.S. to non-European sources, with over half of all newcomers in 1988 coming from Asia. These widespread origins provide new Canadians with a diversity of national, linguistic, religious and racial backgrounds and contribute to an increasingly multicultural society. Their initial impact is to a great extent focused on the major urban centres, particularly Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal, which currently attract around two thirds of the total number of immigrants, with well over half of all immigrants in recent years settling in Ontario, particularly southern-central Ontario. Approximately 90% of all immigrants have the eight largest metropolitan areas as their destination. About two-thirds of immigrants from South east Asia and of Chinese origin settle in Toronto and Vancouver whereas 80% of those with Black, African, or Caribbean origin settle in Toronto and Montreal, including French speaking Haitians who are mainly attracted to Montreal.

While immigration has had a limited impact on medium size cities such as Halifax, some population predictions indicate that the proportion of Metropolitan Toronto of visible minority status will increase from 14% in 1986 to around 18% by the year 2001.

Excluding Aboriginal Peoples, visible minorities now comprise nearly 8% of the population, possibly rising to 10% by the turn of the century. The continuing positive contribution of immigrants to Canada is reflected in their higher average educational level when compared with those who are Canadian born as well as an annual income that is higher than the national average. Nonetheless, the direct economic costs and benefits tend to be fairly well balanced, indicating little significant impact of the number of immigrants on the economic well-being of the country unless they possess specific skills for which there is a shortage.

Some **implications for police work** of these trends include:

- New immigrants without skills in either of the two official languages will place a growing burden on police forces to provide services in multiple languages.

- The statistical risk of racial tension and conflict increases in proportion to the representation of visible minority groups within the major metropolitan areas.

- Crime rates for street crime, property crime, and violence against persons may increase when disadvantaged new Canadian immigrants and rural disadvantaged Native migrants settle in urban areas, reflecting their poverty rather than their ethnicity.

- Based on historical evidence, there is a strong likelihood of crime waves echoing any large-scale increases in immigration following government policies to increase levels of immigration in order to compensate for the aging population.

- Some immigrants may continue to import crime patterns from their countries of origin, with the greatest impact falling upon the ethnic community itself.

- Commissions of inquiry in many provinces into the treatment of racial minorities within the criminal justice system suggest that improving police-race relations will be a continuing concern for at least the next decade.

- Independent police forces for Aboriginal peoples on reserves are likely to develop, especially in the context of continuing debates over self-government and a parallel criminal justice system.

Implications of these trends **for police organizations** include:

- Police forces will need to recruit visible minorities, including Aboriginal peoples and new Canadians, in response to the need to enhance police-minority relations, the demand for services in other languages and the more competitive labour market.

- Cross-cultural sensitivity training will become an even more important part of the curriculum for basic training of police recruits, while promotion may become contingent upon mandatory refresher training.

- The use of alternatives to deadly force, particularly mediation, are likely to become standard strategies in conflict resolution with visible and other minority groups and these techniques will become key elements in recruit training.

- Liaison between police and multicultural communities through consultation or advisory committees and other mechanisms for maintaining a dialogue with minority groups will become a standard strategy among police services.

- Control of individual officer misconduct towards visible minorities through internal regulations and discipline will become more formal and heavily emphasized in an effort to contain incidents within police forces. The issue of double or triple sanctions being imposed on errant officers may arise, from internal discipline, external complaints commissions, and the courts.

- Public oversight, accountability and review mechanisms, for which Canada has a lead role internationally, will continue to play an important part in addressing both incidents involving police and visible minorities as well as the underlying causes of the over-representation of minority groups in contact with the law.

C) Transformation of the Family

The predominant Canadian family now has two incomes, with both spouses present and both working outside the home. However, the number of single-parent families is growing, with the majority headed by women who, increasingly, tend to be younger women and never-married women.

The single-parent status also tends to be a changing one for a large number of single-parent women. Serial relationships, common-law living arrangements, marriage at an older age, smaller families, and voluntary childlessness are increasingly becoming characteristics of many couples. While fewer younger Canadians than their parents are forming couples, the number of older Canadian couples is higher than in the past because of their declining mortality. Both will lead to a drop in the divorce rate.

The growth in the proportion of female, single-parent families, whether based on teenage pregnancies or divorce, leads to the likelihood of a greater number of families living below the poverty line. In general, teenage single parenthood is linked to lower levels of education, income, and job status. This holds true for the mother and her spouse, if any, whether the marriage occurred before or after the birth of the child. A lack of adequate child-care and other forms of supervision, little time to socialize children into the dominant culture, lack of support for literacy and the acquisition of life skills, and other factors reduces the life chances of these young Canadians and exposes them to a greater risk of delinquency. Ultimately, this trend may also contribute to the growth in numbers of runaway children, homeless street youth, gangs, and later involvement with crime.

Implications for police work include:

- With more women in the workforce, the routine activities of families are likely to focus increasingly on the workplace and other locations outside the home. These will lead to a greater exposure and opportunities for residential break-ins at unoccupied or unsupervised homes.

- A higher crime rate for women will develop, based on an increasing numbers of women in the workforce also exposes them to greater opportunities for crime, such as white collar offences.

- With fewer offspring to provide care and social support for the aged, the elderly will rely increasingly on government services, including the police, and these demands will be for services that are far more broad in nature. Non-crime calls will over-burden emergency "911" call systems unless effective means for redirecting or priorizing these calls can be implemented.

- The growth in the number of unsupervised "latch-key kids" and youth in both public and private places may provide additional work for police, unless counterbalanced by the provision of social programs for housing, child-care, etc. and a trend away from teenage single parenthood.

- A lower level of male-originated domestic violence, based on the proportion of two-parent families declining, but perhaps displaced to higher rates of public violence between strangers, particularly against women, and to higher rates of violence against vulnerable domestic populations, including the elderly and children. Women and the elderly will therefore continue as major consumers of police services.

Implications for police organizations include:

- Police services will increasingly become involved with other organizations and agencies providing services to victims, vulnerable groups at real or perceived risk of victimization, and offenders under community supervision.

2.2 TRENDS IN TECHNOLOGY

Trends in technology are largely well-known through the mass media, covering advances in such fields as computers, artificial intelligence, and mass communications. For example, satellite dishes and linked computers are opening up the "global village" to provide for instant, interactive access to communications media and to a wealth of information. Those individuals who are computer and communications literate will increasingly become "internationalized" through information access. Innovations in technology emphasize the importance of information as a valuable commodity or resource in an information based society. Access to and use of computer and communications technologies will further empower some groups in society and some societies while those who are either technologically illiterate or do not have access to these technologies will be seriously disadvantaged.

These innovations are occurring at a rapidly increasing rate in areas that have an impact on crime and on policing. The impact is generally with respect to those offences relating to either the theft of property in a variety of new forms or damage to individual or collective property in new ways. Both indicate a general reduction in violence against persons and an increase in rates for property crime.

A) New forms of theft

Emerging forms of theft are based on new or transformed forms of property that create "criminogenic situations" or new opportunities for crime. In an era of information, new forms of theft include the theft of data, "cashless money" and electronic financial instruments, communications, intellectual property, technology, results of biological experimentation, and information on individuals for impersonation.

Data crime involves the fraudulent use of computers to illegally acquire money, services, or data, such as the fraudulent manipulation of wire transfers of money. Estimates of the cost of computer fraud in the U.S. suggest that, by the mid-1980s, the total value was already in excess of one billion dollars but with perhaps barely 15% reported. Emerging trends include the potential theft of entire data bases by copying or complete removal, thus incapacitating entire organizations or services.
Communications crime involves the theft of long-distance telephone services, the invisible theft of data, the manipulation of data and replacement by incorrect information, and the obstruction of data or information services.

Given the growth in the number and different types of information on individuals, data bases may be illegally accessed to obtain information for the purposes of impersonation which would then allow other forms of illegal behaviour. Forms of information on individuals that permits identification generally cover data held on material objects, such as keys or cards, data held in individual memory, such as a password, or data describing individual characteristics, such as fingerprints, eye retina prints, brain wave prints, etc. The growing number of personal records and data bases to hold this

information, which is increasingly required to maintain the rights and duties of citizenship and conduct everyday affairs, indicate the complete demise of information privacy in the future. At the same time, some people may choose to become "data refugees" while others will go to great expense to preserve any residual privacy remaining.

Medical advances, developments in reproductive technologies, and biological experimentation have produced new forms of property, based on recombinant DNA technology, ownership of new life forms through the patenting of blueprints, and new "designer" drugs and poisons. The faint possibility of predatory homicide increasing is inspired by "organlegging" or the dealing body organs for transplant.

B) New Forms of Harm

New forms of harm done to property are encompassed by crimes against various forms of property, particularly against the environment. New types of damage against collective property include pollution against the environment, from medical waste through to the dumping of hazardous industrial waste, and the possibility of eco-terrorism by new, high-tech poisons or potent wastes. Damage against new forms of individual property include the introduction of "viruses" or "worms" into a computer environment, resulting in the loss or vandalism of data. There is an emerging trend towards "meaner" and more intelligent viruses that can attack computer mainframes, destroy hardware,and evade detection.

The challenge for the police will be to keep up the race against criminals in the use of technological development. More sophisticated criminals will take advantage of new criminal opportunities presented by technological innovations while police professionals will try to use these for surveillance, detection, and investigation. This will be a costly enterprise for all.

Implications for police work include:

- The decline in traditional property and street crime will be replaced by an increase in the rates for new forms of crime, such as corporate and organizational crime, industrial espionage, money laundering, white collar crime, environmental crime, computer crime, etc.

- Crime that is facilitated by the use of computers will increase, including white collar crime, organized crime and business crime, the theft and vandalism of data, and the theft of cashless financial instruments, particularly by those with technological skills and access to insider information in government, business, and politics.

- National and international communications linkages will facilitate the internationalization of crime, including corporate and organizational crime, drug trafficking, money laundering, computer crime.

- Greater access by the public to "passive" detection devices for personal safety and property security may further reduce the need for preventive patrol and surveillance.

- New architectural and urban planning design techniques may also assist in crime prevention, by reducing opportunities for crime.

- A decline in personal privacy will result from more intrusive and proactive surveillance of data and behaviour, raising civil rights issues.

Implications for police organizations include:

- Those police forces which have access to new surveillance, detection, and investigative technologies will be able to compete in the race against criminals who are taking advantage of new developments.

- Police forces will become directly or indirectly responsible for offenders released from institutions into "open custody" or earlier release using electronic surveillance by bracelet transmitters.

- The decline in traditional property and street crime will allow police forces to transfer resources to the detection of new forms of crime, such as corporate and organizational crime, money laundering, white collar crime by individuals, environmental crime, computer crime, and their activities may include the provision of security for data.

- Police forces will increasingly keep abreast of innovations in technology in order to contain the development of new forms of crime. However, this will be an expensive program, requiring cooperation between police forces at the regional, national, and international levels.

- Larger police forces will increasingly use high tech investigative techniques, such as DNA fingerprinting and computer enhanced aging for identification, thus imposing an additional cost burden.

- Police forces will increasingly use low-tech, non-traditional investigative expertise in such areas as forensic accounting and will have to choose whether to develop in-house expertise or to contract out for these services.

- The growing use of computers and the linking of data bases will provide police officers ready access to national information to check on suspected offenders, prior arrests, etc., as well as to report incidents. One further outcome may be to lessen the paper burden of policing.

- Proactive investigations will be made possible by artificial intelligence strategies to search for typical profiles of targeted offenders and of offence methods. Sophisticated audio and audio-visual devices will also permit routine surveillance.

- The specialized nature of white-collar crime will encourage police forces to hire expert civilians and to allow police officers to specialize throughout their careers in specific areas of expertise, rather than rotate them through core functions.

- Police forces will continue to feel pressure towards the internal specialization of their functions, shifting some responsibilities (e.g., responding to alarms) to either passive security or to private police.

2.3 ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRENDS

A) Economic Trends

The globalization of the world economy and the emergence of regional economic blocks, such as the European Economic Community, and the Canada-U.S. Free Trade agreement, have increased the integration of the Canadian economy with its major trading partners. Domestic implications include the rationalization of industries and short-term dislocations of labour. Inefficient firms will disappear or move away from local economies, leaving higher short-term rates of unemployment. A pool of poorly educated, unskilled unemployed people will grow in large cities, contributing to property crime and violence.

With the real per capita Gross Domestic Product continuing to increase, but with a smaller proportion of the labour force in the goods-producing sector, fewer Canadians appear to be producing more of the goods and the remainder have shifted towards service industries. This creates a more vulnerable economy within world markets and, depending on the industrial sector, creates further regional and rural-urban disparities. The dominance of three or four large metropolitan areas will grow even more marked, perhaps moving towards "city states" surrounded by dependent regional hinterlands.

With family formation slowed, a housing glut will emerge that will start to hit the outlying bedroom suburbs of the larger cities, turning them into poorly serviced wastelands of low income families. Property crime and interpersonal violence will be common place. Meanwhile, the routine activities of most Canadians will increasingly take place, not only in private dwellings but in mass private space such as shopping malls protected by private police.

A growing domestic fiscal crisis, based on burgeoning national and provincial debts, will mean that the ability to afford social programs or to support the public infrastructure will be curtailed. There is the possibility that part of this debt burden will be alleviated by down-loading some responsibilities onto lower levels of government. This trend will support a decentralizing trend, resulting in greater local and regional autonomy within a more integrated national and international economy. At the local level, there will be continued pressure towards the community being involved in criminal justice, to provide services and volunteers, as part of a renewed trend towards community policing and

corrections, as well as non-legal dispute settlement mechanisms such as mediation and diversion. Privatization of criminal justice services will continue, shifting much of the burden to a heavily regulated private sector and the remainder to community organizations.

The increasing decarceration of persons in criminal or mental health institutions into community settings, with some under electronic surveillance, for fiscal constraint or humanitarian purposes will lead to greater numbers of persons on the streets who are unable to care for themselves adequately.

With the growing, more dependent, elderly population, increasing demands will be made on social programs. As a result, the big budget items of protective services will be competing for resources along with social service agencies. They will be continuously examined for greater efficiency and effectiveness. Pressure will increase for selective or total privatization of selected services, including policing, resulting in much attention being given to private policing, parallel policing, and the domestic role of the military. However, the level and uniformity of standards will become a concern, leading to a trend towards national voluntary accreditation of public and private policing as well as regulation of private policing by provincial agencies.

Implications for police work include:

- Economic crime will increasingly become internationalized.
- Higher crime rates will be exhibited by the elderly in economic need, such as defrauding social assistance schemes, health services, prescription drugs, petty theft of food, clothing etc.
- Rates of property crime and violence will rise in the outlying declining suburbs of large cities.
- The demand for social services may lead to greater opportunities for economic fraud, such as abuse by a few health professionals through the delivery of suspect services to the elderly.
- Economic crime will increase, such as income tax evasion, pension fraud, insurance fraud, and investment swindles.
- Overburdened taxpayers will increasingly participate in a "grey economy" whereby barter and the provision of officially unreported goods and services will avoid taxation.
- Noncomplicance with government regulations by some businesses will increase, such as avoiding costly pollution controls.
- More civil unrest may be anticipated, based on more groups in society seeing themselves as disadvantaged.

- Growing numbers of persons released from carceral or mental health institutions will increase the burden on policing for surveillance and protection.

Implications for police organizations include:

- While faring better than most other service agencies, police force budgets will be restricted, with increases perhaps held to inflation. Police executives will have to fight harder for new budget items.

- Restricted budgets will present public police forces with difficult choices on the delivery of their services, both in terms of the breadth of services and the range of clients. There will be growing pressure for rationalizing police services, reducing them, or making selected services self-supporting through a cost recovery or "user pay" system (e.g., for false alarms)

- Private policing will become even more established as by far the dominant mode of policing in Canada. As a result, public police will serve, in part, a coordinating role for private policing, providing back-up when "real" crime occurs.

- Alternatives will be sought to high quality but expensive public policing, such as passive, technology enhanced surveillance, and the use of parallel policing.

- In order to reduce training costs, management and support functions will become increasingly civilianized.

- Overstretched police forces will be less able to provide adequate services to the outlying declining suburbs of large cities.

- Rationalization of urban and regional police services will take place through amalgamation, consolidation, and cost-sharing of specialized functions.

- Although police organizations will remain locally-based, because of the increasingly non-local, inter-connected, international nature of white-collar crime, they will cooperate with forces in other countries on issues such as international drug trafficking, computer fraud, financial fraud. Thus the role of Interpol and similar agencies will become more important.

- Federal policing will be responsible for a relatively few federal statutes, while federal agencies will be concerned mainly with standards of police services, accreditation of police forces, audit and evaluation of service delivery against national standards, and accountability.

- Like much of the criminal justice system, regional and local policing will be community-based and integrated into a local support and self-help system. Police professionals will engage in multi-disciplinary task forces and inter-agency cooperation.

B) Political Trends

Because the administration of justice, including policing, is a provincial responsibility there would appear to be only a marginal impact of national political issues on policing. There appear to be few, if any, implications for policing with the emergence of new forms of political affiliations in North America, such as the European Economic Community model, which are possible trends within the next ten years, based on free trade, shared defence, and other avenues for exchanging partial political sovereignty for the benefits of closer economic association.

However, at the provincial level, there appears to be a slight trend towards greater provincial government involvement in policing, resulting in a centralizing of responsibilities within the provinces. This trend is seen in the growing number of provincial ministries responsible for policing, with selected responsibilities being shifted away from provincial and/or municipal police boards and commissions. A growing provincial government involvement in the administration of policing may lessen the role of central government agencies, limiting them to such areas as setting standards and maintaining accreditation programs.

With an aging, more multicultural society, there will be greater participation in local and national issues as diverse interest groups seek to satisfy their concerns. These interest groups include women, elderly, Aboriginal peoples, new Canadians and minorities. They and others will have the continuing support of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Concerns over civil rights will lead to demands for greater openness of police forces as well as for expanded oversight of public policing. Indeed, all public services, professions, and politicians will come under greater routine public scrutiny, with a proliferation of mechanisms emerging for public accountability.

All professions will experience greater litigation against their members as an avenue for grievances. Canadians will place law and order issues on local and national political agendas and crime problems, public safety, and crime prevention will have a prominent role on political agenda-setting exercises.

Implications for police work include:

- Local community "ownership" of their crime and disorder problems will become expressed in new ways, particularly through partnerships with the police.

- Police officers will become more integrated into the social and political life of local communities, as members of their community. Restrictions on police officer participation in local activities will only be in force where there is a direct conflict of interest with police work.

- Community members and organizations will increasingly ask police officers to become more involved in local issues where their expertise is unique, including identifying local crime and disorder problems and working with the community towards solutions.

Implications for police organizations include:

- Police will become more accountable to the public, both through formal public agencies and through informal mechanisms such as public meetings, community consultation or advisory committees, and the mass media.

- Policing priorities will be established in public discussions and police performance will increasingly be publicly examined in light of these priorities.

- Police forces will become more open with respect to providing information to victims of crime and to the public on local crime problems, areas of high crime, and statistics such as those on the race of victims and offenders.

- Police forces will increasingly experience allegations of misconduct and litigation in connection with the use of force, racial bias, etc.

C) Social and Cultural Trends

Because of an aging baby boom cohort which has a large impact on popular culture and attitudes, there is likely to be a shift in the definition of the elderly, from 65 to 70 or even 75. These baby boomers will have better health, increased life expectancy, and greater participation in the labour force. However, because of the greater risk of poverty among the elderly and of crimes of "need" and defences of "non-responsibility", there may be an "Elderly Offenders' Act" to mirror the Young Offenders' Act.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms will continue to have a far reaching impact on civil rights and policing. While most police professionals publicly proclaim support for the Charter in principle, in practice it is viewed as a limiting document with respect to police powers. Nonetheless, the trend will continue in the foreseeable future towards greater public support for individual rights in contrast with collective rights.

Social attitudes will become more permissive towards the so-called "victimless crimes" or "consensual crimes", such as drug abuse, gambling, alcoholism, abortion, pornography, and prostitution. Like

homosexuality, they may become legalized. Others, like pornography, will be subject to stricter regulation and legal controls. There may be a wider acceptance of euthanasia, based on growing elderly population and cost-benefit analysis of providing life-support services to those dying and in great pain.

Just as certain sexual practices are no longer prohibited, there will continue to be a slow but ongoing change in the definition of what constitutes crime. Indeed, there will be little if any behaviour which will be viewed as being wrong in itself. Nonetheless, the negative outcome of some life styles will become far-reaching, such as the spread of AIDS.

The longer term, often unanticipated impact of some activities, particularly those affecting the environment, will lead to the consideration of potential or future harm as an element of an offence in terms of what could reasonably have been anticipated as a possible harm.

Implications for police work include:

- Pornography and media presentations of violence against women and children will become less tolerated.

- Crime rates for "victimless crimes" such as prostitution, gambling, drug abuse, will decrease in response to greater public tolerance.

- Despite a decline in recreational drug use, governments will have lost the war against drugs and some "victimless" crimes, finding their prohibition to be unenforceable. "Soft drug" use and selected consensual crimes may become decriminalized outright or in a defacto way as their consumption and perceived threat to society declines.

- The interlinkages between a growing number of data bases holding personal information, such as financial and medical records, may signal the decline of personal privacy.

- The public are likely to become more involved in setting the agenda for debate on what are the most urgent crime problems.

Implications for police organizations include:

- An increase in public tolerance for "victimless" or "consensual" behaviour, including drug abuse, gambling, prostitution, and "mild" pornography, will allow police forces to shift resources towards other priorities. Instead, drugs, gambling, and prostitution, for example, will be closely regulated, largely removed from public view, and heavily taxed, thus recognizing the limits of law enforcement but undercutting organized crime.

- Police forces will become more involved with the policing of selected public morals, such as violent pornography consumption.

- Policing AIDS related incidents will present a particularly difficult problem for police operations.

- With massive national, inter-linked databases containing personal, financial, and criminal information on most Canadians, there are likely to be errors in the records that will disadvantage or inconvenience those involved. Protecting the privacy of personal information, including criminal histories, will become a significant issue for policing.

2.4 TRENDS AND PATTERNS IN CRIME

The total economic cost of all crime, whether reported to the police or not, is estimated as being over one billion dollars in 1987. By contrast, the total cost of policing in Canada is estimated as being just over four billion dollars in the same year.

A) Officially Reported Crime

Perhaps because of many inherent problems, the main value of official statistics on incidents reported to the police lies in the fact that, apart from occasional victimization surveys, there are no other better estimates of the incidence of crime. However they also reflect factors such as changing definitions of crime, changes in the Criminal Code, the willingness of the public to report incidents, the willingness of the police to enforce laws, and the growth in minor or summary offences and vehicle traffic offences.

The national rate for all offences (federal and provincial statutes, and municipal bylaws) increased significantly between 1966 and 1981 when it reached its highest level ever, then declined each year until 1985. While it increased again in 1986 and 1987, the rate declined slightly in 1988 and remained about the same level in 1989, at a little over 11,400 offences per 100,000 population. The proportion of all offences that are Criminal Code offences has increased from 70% in 1970 to 80% in 1988. Of these Criminal Code offences, over 70% are for a few sections of the Code relating to crimes of theft, breaking-and-entering, and wilful damage to property. By contrast, the violent crime rate peaked in 1976 and, while the rate has increased gradually each year, these offences have remained at a fairly consistent proportion of about 8% to 9% of all Criminal Code offences. Recently, only about one Canadian in a thousand is responsible for a violent crime reported to the police.

Reported crime is also one estimate of the level of police activity. Over and above crime reported directly by the public, the amount of police work is influenced by the number of police officers and the greater the number of officers then the higher the crime rate. That is, the ratio of charges laid per officer indicates the level of policing activity and reflects the police officer-population ratio.

Implications for police work include:

- The average number of charges laid per police officer will decline because official crime rates are declining.

- Incidents known to the police will consist increasingly of minor offences, particularly some property offences and vehicle traffic offences.

- In an aging society, property crime rates are likely to increase while violent crimes will decrease.

- Crime will be most dramatic in the large metropolitan centres that received large waves of immigrants (Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal). They will increasingly become like their large metropolitan counterparts in the U.S. Because of greater cultural and economic diversity, these cities will witness an increase in violent crime, including public violence by strangers and homicides.

- Declining family formation will result in the boom suburbs of the 1960s-1980s becoming marooned on the outskirts of revived central city cores.

Implications for police organizations include:

- Police forces will increasingly be concerned with managing property crime problems.

- A utilitarian or cost-benefit approach will be taken by police forces under resources limitations when responding to minor property offences, whereby insurance will cover losses, so that the cost of law enforcement will not outweigh the losses.

- Police resources to respond to crimes of violence will increasingly become specialized and more directed towards high-risk potential and actual victims as well as against high-risk offenders.

- Problems will increase for the delivery of basic police services by financially constrained police forces to outlying suburbs.

B) Trends in Victimization

According to a victimization survey, in 1987 approximately 4.8 million adult Canadians were touched by an estimated 5.4 million criminal incidents. Of these, one third were violent crimes and another 40% were property crimes involving households.

Canadians with the greatest risk of being a victim of crime are young, single males in urban areas as well as those who are students, unemployed, regular alcohol consumers, and are active in evening recreational activities away from their homes. With the exception of robbery, most are victims in or near their own residences. Household crime increases with residents' incomes, if they rent the residence, and if they live in an urban area.

A vast amount of crime is not reported to the police. Indeed, about 60% of all criminal incidents were unreported. Only 3% of those known to the police are the result of police being on the scene. About two-thirds of incidents are not reported because the victims view them as being too minor while for other incidents, the costs of various kinds outweigh the benefits of reporting incidents to the police. While two-thirds of break-ins are reported to the police, only one third of the estimated number of assaults and not quite four out of ten sexual assaults are reported. On the other hand, 70% of all motor vehicle thefts are reported to the police. It appears that victims are likely to report those incidents for which police involvement might increase the likelihood of securing restitution in part or in whole.

Implications for police work include:

- Rates for some types of crime will increase in an aging Canadian society because the likelihood of a victim reporting an incident to the police increases with age.

- Property crime rates and the reporting of minor incidents will increase as a result of an aging population.

- Violent crime rates will decrease in an aging society but violence by a small core of young offenders will be more severe.

- With more women participating in the work force, victimization rates for men and women will grow more equal.

Implications for police organizations include:

- Police forces will establish special units or teams to handle calls from dependent elderly persons, which will include social workers and links with other service agencies.

- A growing concern for recovering property and securing restitution will require greater resources within police forces.

C) Perceptions of Crime and the Police

There are two main ingredients to **public perceptions of crime**: the fear of being personally victimized and a concern for crime as a problem generally. By and large, those who are the most fearful of becoming victims of crime, particularly women and the elderly, have the lowest statistical risk of being victimized. Others with a heightened fear of crime include urban residents, "newly single" people such as those who are widowed, separated or divorced, and recent victims of crime. One-quarter of all Canadians feel unsafe while walking alone at night in their neighbourhood although well over half consider crime in their neighbourhood to be lower than elsewhere. The greatest influences on the higher fear of crime among the elderly are their overall concern for crime as a social problem, their personal experience with crime, and their general sense of being vulnerable.

Most Canadians also consider the level of crime to be higher than is indicated by officials statistics, particularly violent crime which is thought to be seven times more frequent than is indicated by statistics. Canadians also support harsher measures against offenders and support greater powers generally for the police. It appears that their perceptions are influenced less by the actual work of the police and the courts than by often erroneous impressions gained from the mass media.

According to a national study, Canadians hold their police officers and police forces in high regard, with over half judging their local police as doing a good job. A recent international survey found Canadians had the highest level of satisfaction with local police performance with almost nine out of ten being satisfied. Doing good police work includes being approachable, enforcing laws, supplying prevention information, and responding to calls. Older Canadians, those who have had recent contact with their police, and those who have been victims of a non-violent crime are more likely to view their police positively.

Victims of violent crime are more likely to rate police performance poorly, particularly with respect to responding to calls for service and enforcing the laws.

Implications for police work include:

- Fear of victimization will increase overall because of the growing proportion of Canadians who are elderly, particularly older, single women. This will increase the number of calls for service to the police that are unrelated to specific crime incidents.

- Although rates of violent crime may decrease, there will continue to be a sufficient number to support current levels of fear of being personally victimized by violence.

- Public concern for crime as a social problem will focus increasingly on violent crime and harm to new forms of individual and collective property, and less on traditional forms of property.

Implications for police organizations include:

- Police forces will establish special units or teams to handle calls from dependent elderly persons, who are more likely to be afraid of being victimized.

- Police forces will use greater resources in responding to the urgent and longer-term needs of victims of violent crime and less on victims of property crime.

- In order to reduce police budgets, government agencies will endeavour to educate the public about the real level of crime while the mass media and police forces will continue to emphasize the risk of being victimized by dramatizing violent incidents.

III. A GROWING CANADIAN CONSENSUS: COMMUNITY POLICING

The environment of policing in Canada over the next ten years is clearly a rapidly changing one that is radically transforming the nature of police work and of police organizations. How will police departments cope with these changes? There is a growing consensus among police executives, police professionals, community representatives, academics and others, that "community policing" is the most appropriate response by policing to the challenges and problems of the next decade. Indeed, this fundamental approach to policing has probably always been the most appropriate policing response to crime and order maintenance within local communities in the past, in the present, and in the future.

Community policing, sometimes known as community-based policing or community-oriented policing, is at first glance a relatively recent development in policing. Yet it might be better understood as the re-emergence of the original approach to urban public policing following a major reassessment of the role and function of the police in the last three decades of the twentieth century.

3.1 ORIGINS OF COMMUNITY POLICING

The origins of urban community public policing lie in both American and British policing. Over 150 years ago, the Metropolitan London police provided the first model for modern urban, community policing. However, Canadian municipal police appear to have been influenced primarily by subsequent developments which took place in the United States, principally in reaction to the close police-community ties which facilitated systemic corruption of the police by local political party organizations. From about the 1930s onwards, the distancing of urban police from the community became a driving force which shaped North American policing towards what become known as "professional policing."

This distancing was assisted by technological developments: first, the telephone, then the patrol car and two-way radio, followed by on-board computers. While these new technologies permitted tighter control over individual police officer behaviour, two further policing strategies were even more powerful influences in distancing the police from the local community and in developing what was thought to be "professional" policing.

These strategies were:

- the invention of random motorized patrol as a presumed deterrent to potential criminals, and
- the invention of rapid response as the uniform response to all calls to the police from the public.

Under this "professional" policing model, the two main criteria for police force performance became:

- the proportion of charges laid to offences reported to the police, and
- the response time to calls for service made to the police by the public.

Unfortunately, the reasons for exerting tighter control over police officers in the United States were not as applicable to their Canadian counterparts. In the present century at least, there has been a general absence of routine political influence over the police and a lack of widespread corruption within Canadian police forces. Consequently, the means for exerting tighter control over the routine of street policing were, in the Canadian context, largely misplaced.

In addition, over the past decade or so, evaluations of the two main strategies of the "professional" model have shown that they are not very effective. Some of these findings include the following.

- Rapid response to all calls for service is an inappropriate basis for organizing an entire police force when life-threatening incidents or events in progress are routinely less than 4% of calls for service. Most victims call someone else first and most delay reporting the incident to the police on average for about 20 minutes. Consequently, shorter response times are unlikely to result in an increase in the number of offenders apprehended during the commission of their offences. However, priorizing calls by their degree of urgency permits differential response, making better use of scarce policing resources.

- Most crimes are solved on the basis of information provided by the victim or witnesses to the officer who first responds to the call. Crimes are seldom solved by subsequent investigation, with perhaps less than 3% of all cases cleared by solved by this means. However, integrated teams of patrol and investigative functions have the highest rate of success in clearing crimes reported to the police.

- Random motorized patrol has not been found to deter potential criminals, reduce crime, provide a greater likelihood of apprehending offenders, or reduce the fear of crime. Moreover, random or preventive patrol intercepts only a small fraction of crimes in progress. Increasing patrol numbers will have little or no impact on their effectiveness. However, while the impact of foot patrols on the level of crime is not yet clear, they decrease the level of fear by the public and increase their satisfaction with the police.

- While saturation motorized patrol may reduce crime, it usually does so only temporarily and often displaces crime into other areas. However, targeting "hot spots" of crime and applying problem solving techniques reduces repeat calls for service from repeat addresses, thus reducing the overall level of crime and police work. On the other hand, new "clients" of community policing tactics may drive up the level of official crime by reporting more incidents to the police.

- Increasing police numbers or their resources does not increase their effectiveness in solving or reducing the overall level of crime. This is partly because only about 15% - 20% of calls for service to most police forces involve crime incidents. However, targeting new resources or reallocating existing police resources to specific crime and disorder problems, such as through "aggressive order maintenance" techniques involving the removal of the physical and social "signs of crime", shows promising results.

The marginal effectiveness of the old "professional" model in preventing or containing crime, coupled with the loss of positive police-community relations, has encouraged police executives over the past two decades to call for a new approach to policing.

3.2 THE RE-EMERGENCE OF COMMUNITY POLICING

The "new" approach to policing that was recently begun to sweep through North America, Europe, and the major common law countries is community policing. Rather than being a new approach, however, it is more correctly a renewal or re-emergence of the old approach developed in Metropolitan London. Under this style of urban policing, the overall goal is a **police-community partnership** in dealing with crime and related problems. The goal of partnership with the local community has far-reaching implications for the organization and operations of police forces. It contrasts with the "professional" approach in which crime is the exclusive property of the police and the police form a "thin blue line" against crime. However, the community partnership provides new and far-reaching resources that form a "new blue line" that has a more general role than simply crime control.

There are perhaps twelve ingredients of the "new blue line."

First, the role or mission of the police in Canadian society becomes fundamentally one of **peace officers** rather than merely as law enforcement officers involved with crime control. In helping to maintain peace, order, and security in local communities, police officers exercise their side of the partnership with the community by being **routinely** - but not exclusively - responsible for the reduction and prevention of crime and the promotion of public order and individual safety. In the words of Sir Robert Peel's first two police commissioners, Sir Charles Rowan and Sir Richard Mayne, the new police follow the principle:

> "To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police. The police being only members of the public that are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence."

Because police officers serve and protect the public, a police organization is primarily a **service** to the public for crime and disorder problems rather than a force that is focused primarily on crime.

Second, in adhering to a police-community partnership, the police adopt the key strategy of **community consultation**. A consultation process helps the police to accomplish two significant objectives. One is to identify their relatively short-term priorities for addressing crime and disorder problems in the community, perhaps on an annual basis. The other is to establish a longer term orientation and a reaffirmation of their mandate through the conferring of public consent. In complementary fashion, this process assists community representatives to set their agenda for safety and security in their area and to better understand the problems associated with public policing. A variety of mechanisms are currently being examined and tested which facilitate a police-community dialogue, including advisory or consultative committees, meetings with local interest groups, and informal contacts with individual members of the local community. This approach differs from the former "professional" model which usually pursued "police-community relations" through a specialized unit rather than at all levels of the police service and through a variety of means. Nonetheless, effective means of community consultation and dialogue are still being explored.

The **third** main ingredient is a strategy involving a **proactive approach** to policing. Rather than passively waiting for the calls or randomly patrolling for a presumed deterrent effect, the police anticipate future calls by **identifying local crime and disorder problems**. A scanning and forecasting process is used to identify problems that includes input from the local community. The scanning process is accomplished in part by analyzing patterns among similar crimes and calls for service rather than treating each incident as a separate event that is closed when the case has been solved, as was the practice under the "professional" approach. "Hot spots" of similar crimes are identified by time, place, and type of offence and are brought to the attention of street constables at the neighbourhood level, and to police managers and the police commission for community- or city-wide problems. Input from the local community is received in terms of local crime and disorder priorities. A strategic plan may be developed that priorizes the competing crime and disorder problems at the community level and is reviewed through public discussions.

Fourth, a **problem-oriented policing strategy** is developed that will address the crime and order problems and their underlying causes. A variety of proactive and reactive policing tactics may be used, depending on the problem and the neighbourhood. However, it is important to note that no single tactic can be identified with community policing and the overall strategy emphasizes flexibility in the use of the full range of tactics in addressing particular problems and neighbourhoods. Any means of increasing the level and quality of contact between citizens and the police are adopted, such as zone policing, neighbourhood foot patrol, officers dedicated to particular beats, mini-stations or store-front offices, differentially responding to calls for service depending on their urgency, volunteers, greater civilianization, flexible shifts, integrated teams (of foot patrol, motorized patrol, and investigative functions), and community advisory or liaison committees. These are accompanied by the existing tactics now identified with the "professional" policing model but which were used largely to the exclusion of others. Such tactics include a rapid-response capability that remains necessary for the occasional life-threatening incidents, as well as a few specialist units, including homicide investigation teams which might also have responsibility for family violence where most homicides occur. Finally, when the problem has been solved or significantly reduced, then an evaluation or assessment is conducted to determine the effectiveness of the tactics.

A **fifth** aspect of community policing is that broader police **responses to underlying causes of problems** are also introduced, particularly crime prevention activities. These include opportunity reduction tactics such as "target hardening" using environmental design techniques, and reducing the motivation of potential offenders by long-term social development programs.

Sixth, both sets of prevention activities involve a branching out to other service delivery agencies to form strategic partnerships and a more cooperative and productive division of labour. This tactic of fostering **inter-agency cooperation** is in partial recognition of the limits of policing beyond what they do extremely well which is providing a 24-hour, rapid, first response to crime and other crises. Other agencies are better able to provide a longer-term response for victims and to undertake crime prevention by removing the underlying causes of crime, such as poverty, unemployment, poor education and work skills, inadequate housing, and poor health. This cooperative response places the police within a service network of agencies addressing urban safety and, more generally, healthier cities.

Seventh, much of the success of policing depends on how well its personnel operate as **information managers** who engage in "**interactive policing**" by routinely exchanging information on a reciprocal basis with the community members through formal contacts and informal networks. While much of the police work is often seen as not being "real" police work because it involves providing services and information unrelated to crime, community police do so on the grounds that, not only is policing a service to the public, but it allows the public to become more familiar with their police service and the police to become more knowledgeable about their community. Closer ties with community members are a good investment for police because they can become sources of valuable information or police "intelligence" when crime problems later arise.

The **eighth** factor is that tactics are developed to **reduce the unfounded fear of being victimized**, particularly among children, the elderly, and other vulnerable groups in society. Typically, those with the lowest statistical risk have the greatest fear of being victimized. The police now have a responsibility to ensure that this fear has constructive rather than debilitating effects so that those who are vulnerable or view themselves as vulnerable may take reasonable crime prevention measures and then enjoy a safe environment.

Ninth, most police officers are permitted to become career **generalists** rather than specialists and are responsible for a broader range of activities than permitted under the "professional" model, including solving neighbourhood crime and disorder problems. Rather than being treated generally as "blue-collar workers" as they tend to be under the "professional" model, street constables are treated as highly trained, relatively well-paid, white-collar professionals who have the respect of their colleagues and the local community.

Tenth, greater responsibility and autonomy for front line officers to undertake neighbourhood policing tactics is facilitated by decentralized police management and resource deployment that delivers services based on neighbourhoods rather than on shifts. Resources are justified mainly on how well they serve the front line police officers responsible for neighbourhood policing, problem solving, and rapid response to the rare life-threatening calls or for incidents in progress.

Eleventh, there is a **changed organizational structure.** The hierarchical, para-military organizational model that exists in many large police services is surrendered for a flatter profile in which the front line of policing where police services are provided, is the most important part of the organization. Further, the loyalties of officers working under the para-military or "brown" model is to the chain of command whereas the loyalties of those within community-policing, or the "blue" model, is primarily towards the Charter, the Criminal Code, the common law, and the community.

Finally, given the priorities supported earlier by the community, there is a degree of **accountability to the community** in terms of a review of progress on those priorities, possibly conducted through public consultations. This informal accountability complements legal accountability through formal external oversight or review bodies whose authority is delegated from elected officials.

3.3 THE CURRENT STATUS OF COMMUNITY POLICING

A review of the current status of community policing in Canada shows that this new approach has now become part of the conventional wisdom among executives and street constables in most progressive urban police services. There is thus a growing consensus across Canada that community policing is the most appropriate policing approach to the past, the present, and the future. Some of the responsibility for this widespread acceptance lies primarily within the police profession: a few notable, inspired, police leaders in Canada, a number of innovative and influential police executives, and support and encouragement provided by the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada. The Ministry published the leading Canadian report on community based policing and supported conferences and demonstration projects. Consequently, there is no longer any need to always look towards examples of community policing outside Canada or towards academic experts and police professionals in the United States and Europe for lessons and insights. Indeed, with notable exceptions, there are very few police services outside Canada that are more advanced than those Canadian police services which have, whether in whole or in part, already planned or adopted community policing.

Perhaps the main issue facing police executives at this time is the problem of how to implement community policing in a systematic way. Whereas the goal of a police-community partnership is widely accepted and there are some fine examples of specific community-policing tactics, particularly foot patrol and mini-stations, there is a great deal of developmental work still to be done that will fill in the ground in between and facilitate the implementation.

3.4 FUTURE ISSUES

There are a number of unresolved issues that will be addressed over the next decade while police services seek to implement a community policing approach.

First, there is the need to distinguish between the tactics of community policing and the overall strategies of problem solving within a police-community partnership. Both foot patrol and mini-stations are just two tactics which may or may not be appropriate for some neighbourhoods and for some crime problems. Foot patrol is usually inappropriate in low crime suburbs and areas with less dense populations while mini-stations must do more than serve traditional public relations and crime prevention objectives.

Second, placing an emphasis on a particular tactic runs the risk of community policing being regarded as an "add-on" program that is just another specialized unit rather than being seen as a department-wide program with implications for most policing operations. However, it may be necessary to test or demonstrate a program on a partial basis before adopting a program throughout a police service. Whatever approach is used, the introduction of innovation by police executives needs to be supported as a risk taking exercise that may run the chance of failure.

Third, a definition of "community" must be developed that identifies a practical way in which a local community or neighbourhood can be recognized and related to by the police to make possible a useful dialogue on local crime and disorder problems. Previous attempts have struggled with trying to make democratic representations while more recent suggestions have leaned towards working with local interest groups and elected officials who can balance the competing interests.

Fourth, concerns must be addressed that community policing will further weaken any control the police now have on crime at the local level. The police-community partnership can be emphasized as an additional resource rather than as a limiting factor. Similarly, co-operation with human service and social service agencies provides additional resources to policing through the pooling of their respective scarce resources. As well, local crime and order problems become joint responsibilities, with the consequent sharing of both successes and of failures or limitations. However, police executives are in need of assistance on how to relate to these other agencies.

Fifth, community policing must be tested in neighbourhoods and communities where it is really needed rather than just in those neighbourhoods in which its success can be guaranteed because of the lack of need or because of the availability of resources. Further, any new program should be scientifically evaluated by an independent agency.

Sixth, new measures of police service effectiveness or performance must be developed. These should be in clear contrast with the established criteria for the "professional" model which were: (1) response time, (2) charges cleared, (3) others which stress the efficiency rather than the effectiveness of policing, and (4) popularity polls on how much community members liked their local police force.

Some of these new indicators of effectiveness might include:

- identifying local crime and disorder problems through a police-community consultation process;
- solving neighbourhood crime and disorder problems at the local level through a police-community consultation process;
- reducing the number of repeat calls for service from repeat addresses;
- improving the satisfaction with police services by public users of those services, particularly victims of crime;
- increasing the job satisfaction of police officers;
- increasing the reporting of information on local crime and disorder problems by community residents and increasing the knowledge of the community and its problems by local beat officers; and decreasing the fear of personal victimization.

Seventh, new criteria must also be developed for evaluating police officers working in a police service operating on community policing principles. When the criteria for police service performance shift, then the position descriptions and performance criteria must also be changed to reflect that shift. As well, police officers must be rewarded through promotion and other means for performing in accordance with the new criteria and principles. These criteria should include such factors as:

- improving the satisfaction with service provided by the officer to local community members, particularly to victims of crime;
- the officer's knowledge of the community, its members, its resources, and its problems;
- crime and disorder problems solved as well as time spent on problem solving for as yet unresolved problems;

Eighth, the strengths and limitations of community policing must be recognized, including the probability that it is not a panacea that will solve all crime and disorder problems. Nor does this renewed approach shift away completely from traditional policing tactics, such as rapid response to crisis calls. Instead, it is a more appropriate use of reactive tactics, using them only where they are necessary, and balancing them with complementary, proactive tactics to address and solve the underlying causes of crime and disorder problems. One of the most difficult tests of this "new" approach to policing is its ability to handle problems associated with disadvantaged or vulnerable groups in Canadian society, including many aboriginal peoples in the urban environment, some of the new Canadians and visible minorities, dependent women in domestic roles, elderly and children at risk of abuse, and so on.

Ninth, the issue of what community policing means in a rural and small-town context has yet to be fully explored. This examination should include: (1) the differences in policing between large municipal forces and small-town and rural forces; (2) problems facing small police services with limited resources which are implementing this approach; and (3) how to evaluate small forces pursuing this approach and what are the criteria for success.

Perhaps the biggest issue, the **tenth** on this list, is what community policing does in terms of empowering the community versus further empowering the police. On the one hand, by advocating a police-community partnership, this new approach seeks to empower the community to bring it onto a more equal footing with the police in terms of joint "ownership" of local crime and disorder problems and as "co-producers" of peace, order, and security at the local level. However, it is the community side of the partnership that requires the greatest assistance.

Eleventh, greater community involvement with policing might be understood by the police as providing supplementary resources through volunteers, neighbourhood watch, and other forms of community surveillance. As well, this new approach might provide an expanded role for the police in terms of the types of behaviour that is addressed, such as street behaviour of a nuisance value, and the tactics used, such as direct involvement in crime prevention through social development activities. In rare instances, the police might take community involvement as providing a mandate for additional powers which would otherwise be inconsistent with routine policing practices. Overall, the issue is about how far the police can go in performing their role in a free and democratic society when there is an ever-increasing demand for expanded police services. For example, should the police engage in community development, or should they work only as community catalysts, or should they refrain from direct involvement in long-term community development and social development activities but cooperate with other service agencies?

Finally, in light of the more prominent role played by the community, a **twelfth** issue surrounds whether there is a changed role for police governing bodies, such as police boards and commissions. Confusion may well arise that input through community consultation into police decision making and strategic planning gives greater power to participating community members and organizations for an oversight role.

Like most large, public service agencies, the requirements for innovation in policing include: changing the formal corporate values as well as the sub-culture of "front-line" policing; having an inspired chief executive who is committed to the new approach; having a motivated and experienced level of middle management which can implement the new approach in operational terms; recognizing innovations that come from the street level of policing; and obtaining support for the new approach and the risks that it runs from the police governing authorities and from the local community.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while this "new" philosophical, organizational, and operational approach to policing may be viewed by some as "merely going back to the basics of policing", it nonetheless can have profound and far-reaching changes for some police forces. Indeed, policing in some common-law countries has run the risk of being misdirected towards efficiency rather than effectiveness, towards crime control and strict law enforcement rather than the provision of public peace and safety, and towards an autonomous policing enterprise rather than a partnership with the community they serve. Police organizations have reflected these misplaced directions and must now be reoriented organizationally and operationally towards community policing.

IV IMPLEMENTING CHANGES

When fundamental changes are introduced in any sphere, adjustments in all aspects of that sphere are frequently necessary. Changes in the philosophy of policing will necessarily be accompanied by organizational changes. Such changes are not only structural but pertain to the basic values and ideology of the organization. Successful contemporary organizations begin by stating their basic mission (goals, means, and values) explicitly. Such a statement provides a yardstick according to which organizational activities can be evaluated and serves as a concrete guideline to all personnel in their day-to-day activities. Once a mission statement has been formulated, attention can be paid to planning and the organizational changes necessary to fulfil the mission. This chapter explores those areas of policing and police organizations that will need to undergo change to accomplish the objectives of a progressive police department in contemporary Canadian society.

4.1 A MISSION STATEMENT[1]

Over the past few years, an increasing number of public sector organizations have defined and publicized their missions. Among them are some of the largest police services in Canada, such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Ontario Provincial Police, the Quebec Provincial Police (Sûreté du Québec), and several municipal police forces. Successful organizations, whether public or private, usually have a clear and precise idea of what they want to accomplish. Having a firm plan enables them to set appropriate strategic objectives, to identify pertinent means, and to engage in daily activities that make the organization a success.

A mission is a set of principles that defines the nature and ultimate purpose of an organization. It clarifies its fundamental direction, rather than spells out the specific goals and strategies adopted by the organization. In the context of policing, each police force, especially within the framework of community policing, must establish its own procedures in dealing with crime and disorder, as well as in managing its resources. Nevertheless, a general mission for all police forces can be proposed as a model based on the legal, cultural, and other realities of Canadian society. Given the high expectations increasingly being placed on the police by the public, mass media, and other sectors, a statement of mission can foster the development of standards of excellence that will enable police forces in this country to meet those expectations.

The mission being proposed herein comprises three elements: (a) the mission itself, (b) a statement of general means, and (c) a statement of values.

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[1] A more detailed document on the mission of the police has been produced and is available at the Police and Security Branch of the Secretariat of the Ministry of the Solicitor General (User Report).

A) Mission of the Police

The mission itself is a very abstract statement of the ideals toward which police forces ought to strive. It is believed that this mission should reflect the recognition of the fact that the police are part of the criminal justice system and must work in concert with other components of this system. A mission statement must also reflect the fact that the police operate within a legal framework in which there is progressively more emphasis on the rights of individuals such as is contained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The traditional police tasks of maintaining peace, order, and public security should also be incorporated in a mission statement, as should the identification and apprehension of offenders. Public security, today, carries with it the connotation that public perceptions and fears themselves are legitimate areas of concern. Given the current thrust in relation to crime prevention and community policing, the statement ought to reflect the changing mandate of police departments away from mere law enforcement. The following mission statement is therefore recommended:

> **As part of the criminal justice system and in accordance with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the police are responsible for maintaining peace, order and public security, for preventing crime and other offences, for apprehending offenders and bringing them to justice, and for addressing the fears and concerns of the public with respect with crime and disorder.**

B) Means Used

The means used to achieve the fundamental objectives outlined in the general mission statement need to be compatible with the shift of many departments toward community policing. Therefore, other than the traditional emphasis on preventive patrol and criminal investigation, the interaction with citizens and community agencies needs to be stressed. Working with citizens is not only relevant to crime prevention but includes providing assistance to those facing a crisis, whether such a crisis stems from an accident, criminal victimization, or some other incident causing serious suffering. Finally, as police departments do not perform any of their functions in a legal vacuum, they must be prepared to deal with other criminal justice agencies and various levels of government. Consequently, it is recommended that the fundamental means used by police forces to achieve their mission should be:

> **The police carry out their mission by: enforcing the Criminal Code of Canada, other relevant federal statutes, provincial statutes, and municipal by-laws; investigating crimes and other offences; patrolling their areas; undertaking crime prevention; providing assistance to the public; and working with citizens, community organizations, the legal system, correctional services and the various levels of government.**

C) Statement of Values

Any mission statement must be premised upon and promote values that are consistent with legal and cultural realities, as well as those of maintaining the highest standards of professionalism. The police must respect and uphold the basic human rights of citizens. They must be accountable to all those for whom they provide services. They must exercise integrity and provide high quality services. They should further be cognizant of their powers and their ability to have an impact on the lives of citizens in an adverse way during the course of interrogation, arrest, detainment, searches, and so on. The

exercise of their discretionary power should be undertaken with sensitivity and good judgment. Finally, in keeping with the emphasis on promoting harmonious relations with the community and minimizing violence, the use of force should be used very judiciously; that is, as an absolute last resort. Therefore, it is recommended that the following values be considered as the foundation for police work.

Police officers shall:

- uphold the principles set forth in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the guarantees enjoyed by Canadians under the Charter;

- be an integral part of the community and reflect the principle that the police are the public and the public are the police;

- work in partnership with the local community by consulting with them to establish local policing priorities for crime and disorder problems and by securing their co-operation in resolving these problems;

- provide the public with high quality services designed to achieve peace, order and security within the community and do so with sensitivity to the particular needs of citims, minorities, and vulnerable groups such as women, children, and the elderly;

- focus on identifying local crime and disorder problems and address their underlying causes while providing rapid response for those relatively rare life-threatening incidents;

- work to reduce any unfounded fear of being victimized and any concerns about local crime and disorder problems;

- work in partnership with other agencies providing services to the public, with other level of government, and with other segments of the criminal justice system;

- make lawful, reasonable and moderate use of their powers and be aware of the problems and risks associated with the discretionary use of such powers;

- use force only as a last resort where no other means may be used and any force used shall be in proportion to the circumstances of the incident;

- conduct themselves so as to maintain the public's trust and respect by adopting strict standards of professional ethics that will ensure freedom from misconduct and corruption, by being impartial in the enforcement of laws, and by being free from undue political or other influences;

- be accountable to the community, both formally through established democratic mechanisms and informally through public consultation and discussion.

4.2 STRATEGIC PLANNING

Strategic planning is a fairly recent concept and approach in the management of organizations. It has been defined as the process of formalizing the concept of an organization, its mission, the set of objectives it is to pursue given its environment, and includes the plans, policies, structure, courses of action, allocation of resources and tasks to be pursued in its planning cycle. It is a systematic approach to planning based on two fundamental assumptions. The first assumption is that no organization exists in isolation and, hence, must take into consideration those factors, both without and within, that have an impact on it. The second assumption is that the world is dynamic rather than static and that change is normal and inevitable, rather than a cause for alarm.

Traditional perspectives of organizations conveyed the impression that if one could control sufficiently the activities occurring within an organization, one could achieve success and master the environment. Classical organizational theories, therefore, advised managers to simplify tasks and routinize activities to maximize efficiency. In the context of policing, this meant that if officers were given straightforward, specialized tasks that could readily be monitored and evaluated, the performance of a department could be optimized. Contemporary organizational perspectives, however, recognize that organizations continuously interact with environmental forces and must therefore take them into account.

What are some of the environmental forces affecting upon police forces? There are a host of these: fiscal, legal, political, socio-cultural, technological, demographic, and those relating to the physical environment. All these external factors place demands on a department and must therefore be taken into account. A major component of strategic planning is referred to as environmental scanning. This process involves a continuous monitoring of the aforementioned and additional forces affecting the organization. The process is an ongoing one because it is recognized that these forces are continually changing and their relative importance may shift from one point in time to another. Thus, strategic planning is not the adaptation of an organization to its environment on a one-time basis--this approach would assume a fixed environment. The "political winds" are constantly changing. Changes in legislation, such as the introduction of The Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Young Offenders Act, sexual assault legislation--to name only a few--continuously require adjustments in the posture taken by police departments. As we have seen in Chapter 2.1, demographically, the Canadian population is expected to age in the years to come, and different demands for services will accompany this development. Culturally, Canadian society is expected to become increasingly multicultural and multiracial, which will require changes in recruitment and training. Technological change, ranging from computer software to forensic techniques, too, is continuously in progress. With these and so many other external influences, it is hard to imagine how an organization can pretend that it is an island unto itself.

Strategic planning has been undertaken on a large scale in the RCMP, as well as the Metro Toronto and Montreal Urban Community forces in the last two or three years (refer to Figure "C" for an example of the Montreal approach to strategic planning). In strategic planning, an organization takes into consideration its general mission and the changing external environment in developing its strategies. It must also take into account its internal environment and acknowledge its own strengths

and weaknesses. An organization's human and financial resources, for example, set constraints upon what can reasonably be achieved. These resources are also continuously changing through aging, recruitment, collective bargaining and other factors. Once such internal scanning is undertaken, strategies are formulated to achieve specified objectives. In the context of a community policing approach, the selection of these strategies, rather than being adopted unilaterally, would take place in consultation with community members and organizations. Thus, even the strategies of police departments would be developed interactively.

The process of strategic planning does not end with the implementation of chosen strategies. Monitoring their success is a vital component, with the evaluation of activities serving as feedback as part of a continuous reassessment of strategies. In community policing, measures of public satisfaction and levels of fear, become an integral part of performance evaluations. The evaluation process itself, therefore, becomes interactive and takes the place of a sole reliance on the traditional indices of criminal behaviour (e.g., crime rates) that are drawn from within the police organization.

Strategic planning is therefore a fluid process that results in solutions tailored specifically to every department's unique situation. It is a process in which a police department must strike a balance between merely serving as a receptacle for input from the environment, on the one hand, and pursuing rigid, narrow policies, on the other. Inviting input from the community and scanning the environment, does not mean that police departments cannot assume leadership and establish general directions for the organization; indeed, this is the purpose of a mission statement. A purely reactive department would be chaotic and its personnel demoralized. The interactive relationship between the police force and its environment goes both ways. The department shapes the environment as the environment influences it. The community's involvement in crime prevention, problem solving, and crime fighting will all be contingent upon its perception of the performance, receptivity, and sensitivity of its police department.

Even with strategic planning, the police must take initiative rather than merely react. All organizations need some stability. Although social change is continuous, there must be some continuity in tasks to be performed by personnel. Also, as will be discussed in a later section, subscribing to some core values is an essential requirement of organizational success. These core values will set basic directions for an organization. Furthermore, leadership from within police agencies is required in those areas in which expertise, not possessed by the general public, is necessary. A department that is merely reactive, without any direction and values of its own, risks being pulled in every possible direction, with the most powerful interests pulling the hardest.

What is important to remember about strategic planning is that it merely sketches the general strategic direction of an organization in the pursuit of its objectives, rather than spells out in great detail the specific tasks to be performed. Detailed, long-term planning, assuming a fixed environment, is anathema to strategic planning. If community policing is to be adopted, planners must leave room for community input and organizational adjustments to changes in the environment.

MAIN STEPS OF THE 1991-1995 MONTREAL URBAN COMMUNITY POLICE DEPARTMENT PLANNING PROCESS

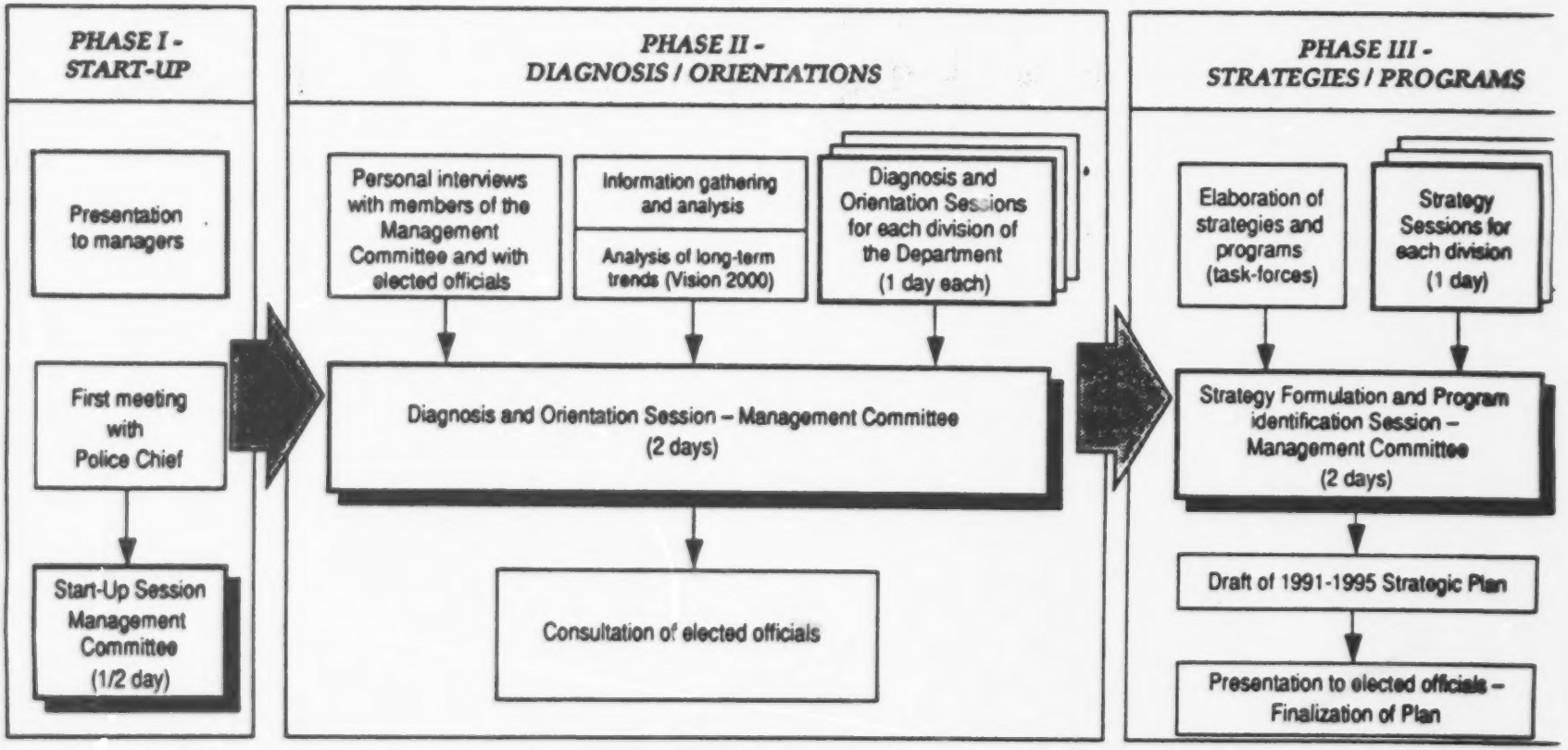

PHASE I - START-UP
Presentation to managers
First meeting with Police Chief
Start-Up Session Management Committee (1/2 day)
PHASE II - DIAGNOSIS / ORIENTATIONS
Personal interviews with members of the Management Committee and with elected officials
Information gathering and analysis
Analysis of long-term trends (Vision 2000)
Diagnosis and Orientation Sessions for each division of the Department (1 day each)
Diagnosis and Orientation Session – Management Committee (2 days)
Consultation of elected officials
PHASE III - STRATEGIES / PROGRAMS
Elaboration of strategies and programs (task-forces)
Strategy Sessions for each division (1 day)
Strategy Formulation and Program identification Session – Management Committee (2 days)
Draft of 1991-1995 Strategic Plan
Presentation to elected officials – Finalization of Plan

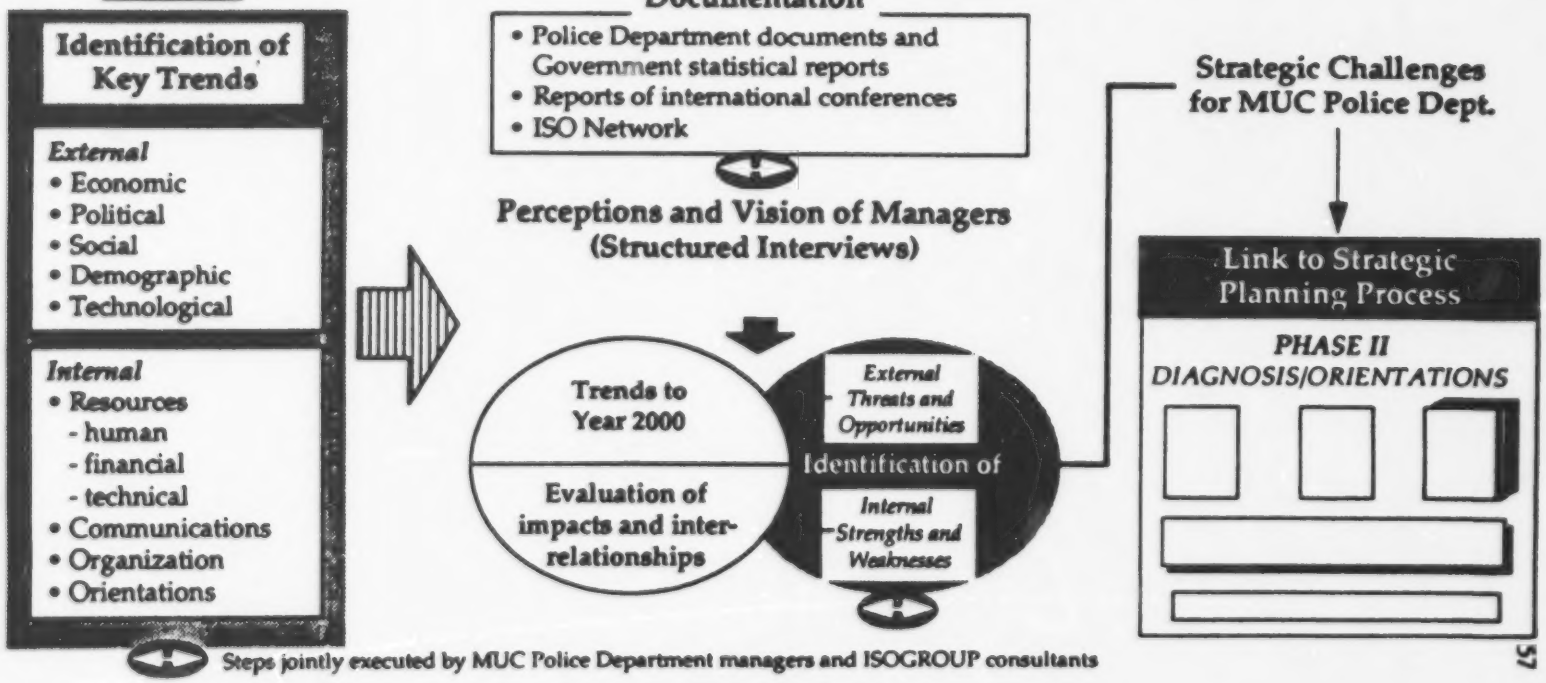
FIGURE "C"

ANALYSIS OF LONG TERM TRENDS (VISION 2000)

Objectives:

1) Identification of new realities that the Police Department will have to adjust to, to year 2000.
2) Identification and analysis of internal and external factors that may hinder or facilitate adjustment.
3) Synthesis of strategic challenges.

Process:



Steps jointly executed by MUC Police Department managers and ISOGROUP consultants

FIGURE "C" continued

4.3 PURSUING EXCELLENCE

The mission statement presented above stresses the importance of pursuing some ultimate goals in policing, such as peace, order, and security in a community, rather than more narrow objectives such as making arrests. When policing revolves around such narrow activities and patrol officer accountability based on such considerations as the number of traffic tickets and arrests they make, the means and ends of policing easily get confused. It is easy to lose sight of the fact that ticketing and arresting are mere strategies in pursuit of more fundamental ends.

The mission statement also stresses excellence in policing, which implies quality of service rather than simply efficiency. Furthermore, the statement implies that policing should be driven by basic values, such as those relating to integrity, the respect of individual rights, and the limited use of force, as opposed to merely some narrow and tangible organizational concerns. Certainly, if the needs of the community are to be considered on an ongoing basis, as they should be within a community policing framework, the more abstract although less measurable concerns of quality service and value-driven policing need to be given greater attention.

In discussing excellence in policing, it is useful to refer to the bestselling book on management by Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman entitled, In Search of Excellence. Their discussion about companies that have achieved excellence and success is also relevant to public sector organizations, such as the police, especially in view of the current interest in community policing.

According to Peters and Waterman, organizations must be flexible and dynamic, with an ability to adapt to ever changing environments. Organizations that attach too much emphasis on strategies, formal rules, rational planning, and rigid procedures act as though they exist in a social vacuum. The authors stress adaptivity, creativity, and an orientation toward people rather than gimmicks and technology. They further stress action and risk-taking, as opposed to planning and control. According to Peters and Waterman, it is better to act and make occasional mistakes than to take a defensive posture and fear errors to such an extent as to create a stagnant organization.

The rational model of planning that is part of the creed of professional policing focuses on organizational structure and assumes that each person will robotically carry out the organizational plan. It is the role of each position, rather than each person, that counts as it is assumed that all in the same position will behave identically. Rational planning, taken to the extreme, makes no accommodation for individual differences, nor for informal subcultures even though these forces may govern, more than the formal structures and plans, what the organization actually does. Peters and Waterman claim that "soft" elements, such as the informal, the intuitive, and the irrational can be managed rather than ignored. Presumably informal subcultures that sabotage formal organizational aims will be less likely to emerge where employees are taken into consideration rather than merely "managed". To them, getting back to the basics, such as values and people, are what promote

excellence rather than sophisticated plans and structures. In their view, what characterizes highly successful companies is a shared (by employees throughout the company) intensity or passion for both the product and the customers.

Peters and Waterman provide some bottom-line principles on management. With respect to developing creative solutions and risk-taking, they favour the formation of small groups to pilot an idea, rather than getting the whole organization involved. The product (program) can be tested on a small-scale and modified on the basis of the test. This decentralized approach certainly fits well with community policing.

They also emphasize the importance of getting close to the customer. In the follow-up book, A Passion for Excellence, Peters and Nancy Austin talk of the importance of the customer to reflect how vital it is to be intimately familiar with the needs and concerns of the customer. In policing, of course, the ultimate customer/consumer of police services is the community. Knowing and understanding customers are not only a crucial part of delivering quality services to them, but is also a way of generating new ideas and anticipating new trends. A police force bent on a community-oriented approach must do a considerable amount of intent listening to its constituents if their concerns are to be addressed. Just as meeting the customer's needs is the ultimate goal of successful companies, community satisfaction is the ultimate goal of community policing.

The most successful organizations also view the rank and file as a crucial source of ideas and quality service, rather than simply "a pair of hands". Through this posture, they avoid creating the we/they adversarial relationships between workers and management that leads to polarization, demoralization, and the sabotage of organizational aims. Faith in patrol officers to solve problems directly with citizens (without the constant intervention of the officer's superiors) is a necessary part of community policing.

IBM's Chief Executive Officer has said that "the basic philosophy of an organization has more to do with its achievements than do technological or economic resources, organizational structure, innovation and timing." In this light, some of the core values underlying the activities of a police force, such as those contained in the mission statement proposed herein, need to be strongly reinforced as they form the foundation of police work. Strategies, technology, planning, and resource management are built on this foundation. Peters and Waterman write of the "loose-tight" properties of companies that excel. They promote a great deal of autonomy and decentralization, but promote with great zeal the core values of the organization. They ensure that these values are shared throughout the organization.

Finally, the authors indicate that the most successful companies have simple organizational structures and are lean at the top levels. A maximum number of personnel are involved in hands-on activities. Even chief executives are in close contact with developments at the front lines. It is obvious that excessive specialization and status-consciousness insulate the leadership from the rank and file.

4.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF VALUES

The mission statement advanced earlier in this chapter contains a statement of values that might be considered as forming the basis of policing in Canada. This section delves into the reasons why values are so important as a foundation for excellent organizations. A recurrent theme in the contemporary organizational literature is the importance of some consensus on basic values in the pursuit of excellence. Values are the foundation of an organization and cannot be replaced by flow charts, elaborate strategies, technology, or gimmicks. Although often unstated, they can be inferred from actions and statements made by personnel. When a police officer fails to help a frail old lady cross the street, refuses to deal with persistent noise and trouble around a night club, and hesitates about responding to a domestic call, one can infer that he or she subscribes to the role of law enforcer and places little value on addressing community problems or on assisting citizens.

The values held by managers are crucial as they influence the functioning of the entire organization. Although no two people can be expected to hold identical values, there needs to be some agreement on fundamental values. The mission statement presented in the previous section suggests a set of such values. It has been said that written and publicly-stated values are important if for no other reason than to force management to reach agreement on at least some core values. Explicitly-stated values, when communicated regularly, are more likely to become part of the culture of an organization. When organizational values are assimilated by employees, there is less need to apply strong control to rein them in. Values also give significance to the activities of employers and provide meaning to the otherwise isolated tasks of employees. The statement of values also signals to the public and government that the organization is open to scrutiny and invites input. Such openness motivates personnel to pursue excellence, instills in them a sense of pride, and inhibits the formation of a closed, defensive posture.

The aforementioned positive outcomes will only be achieved if values and their implementation meet certain conditions. They must be internally consistent and carefully prioritized. In policing, there is always a tension between order maintenance and crime-fighting, on the one hand, and protecting civil liberties, on the other. A department must make clear which values should prevail. It could be that, where life and limb are threatened, the collective interest ought to prevail over the rights of a suspect, in the event these divergent rights clash. On the other hand, where less serious offences are concerned, it might be reasonable to place individual rights over that of society. A department must resolve these conflicts so as to generate consistent behaviour and to avoid driving the behaviour of personnel underground. Also, in order to prevent the formation of subcultures within the organization that sabotage formal organizational goals, values must be based on the reality of the workplace. Input from the rank and file is therefore vital. Values that cannot be implemented become a weakness as management becomes committed to an impossibility.

Values should also be limited in number. An excessive number of values disperses effort and confuses personnel. The values adopted should therefore be broad and deep.

To be useful, values should enhance performance. They must be linked to the key goals of an organization. If a major goal of a police force is to enhance the public's sense of security, then a high value must be placed on activities that dissipate fears and deal with disorder. An organization in which values and goals are incompatible is one which is in chaos.

It has also been said that values should be attractive, instilling in all employees a sense of pride. In that sense, the traditional value placed by professional police departments on enforcing the law in a detached manner seems to have less of an appeal than that of solving problems and enhancing the quality of life of citizens. The latter set of values are positive rather than negative (e.g., fighting crime), and give personnel the sense they are on a mission of great significance. Although some of the tasks are the same, saying one is helping the "good guys" rather than fighting the "bad guys" is more likely to promote altruism. Activities that contribute to positive developments are more intrinsically reinforcing than those that are negative and only indirectly and intangibly impact the community. An officer who helps a group of citizens deal with a neighbourhood concern will likely be the recipient of direct and fairly immediate positive feedback stemming from the gratitude expressed by these citizens. Arresting a suspect, on the other hand, is a fairly thankless job, the only reward of which is the knowledge that perhaps the community is slightly better off. Community policing, it would appear, promotes more of these positive values and, hence, perhaps is more capable of motivating personnel than traditional policing.

4.5 LEADERSHIP IN POLICING

The current re-evaluation of the role and functions of the police in society poses major challenges for police leadership. Rapid and continuous changes, both inside and outside police forces, requires an adaptive leadership that departs significantly from traditional leadership styles. External forces include increased demand for police service, fiscal restraint, changes in criminality, and dissatisfaction with existing police methods. Internally, police forces must contend with better educated personnel, changing technology, and more sophisticated crime analysis procedures. It has been said that the police leader of the future has to be a sort of superhuman, with a background in policing, sociology, labour relations, communications, and administration. There is certainly no doubt that police leaders of the future will need to have a diversified background and be creative and courageous enough to cope with the multitude of pressures and demands on their organizations.

Although the movement toward community policing has been under way for a number of years, changes in police organization have been slow to come. One factor impeding change concerns the way in which police executives have reached their positions. Normally, they rise through the ranks by virtue of their expertise in police skills and their conformity to police traditions. They have been referred to as trained specialists who are managers of the status quo.

A second factor inhibiting change is the existing police culture which results from and perpetuates a sense of isolation from the community. Their preoccupation with crime-fighting and their aloof stance, combined with a lack of understanding on the part of the public of the inherent

unpleasantness of some police tasks, has bred suspicion of outsiders by the police and a strong camaraderie within departments. While police solidarity may be a positive force, the insular nature of police culture may inhibit changes in the direction of increasing interaction with the public.

This report has already detailed some of the strategic changes that are a part of a shift from traditional to community policing. Some structural changes in police organizations will need to take place if such a shift is to occur. Decentralization must occur so that Community Police Officers can have greater autonomy in solving community problems. A centralized structure is also not conducive to the idea that the public, as well as police officers, participate in setting the agenda of the department and assist in generating strategies to deal with persistent problems. The specialization of roles will have to give way to some generalists, in the form of Community Police Officers, who deal with many different types of problems in their beats. Autocratic leadership styles, based on command and control, will need to be supplanted by a participatory style as personnel will be given more responsibility and discretion. The focus on efficiency (volume of arrests and tickets) will need to shift to performance measures that take into account "quality of life" considerations in the community.

To orchestrate such fundamental changes in policing, leaders will need to possess considerable skill as well as perseverance to overcome resistance at all levels. Communication and interpersonal skills will be vital, as interactions with the public will increase and those with subordinates will become more egalitarian. The challenge will be to foster an outward-oriented police culture in place of one that is based on isolation from the community.

In order to become more adaptive and community-oriented, the management style of police forces will need to change in several ways. First, traditional policing has been characterized by bureaucratic management, where the focus has been on the needs of the bureaucracy itself. Community policing requires taking into consideration the needs of the p ıblic and getting citizens involved in crime prevention and problem-solving. Thus, the organization will need to adapt to the community, rather than the reverse, in order to provide the best service to its clients: this approach has been called "strategic management". Strategic management entails that police leaders gain an intimate knowledge of community problems and needs. This requires ongoing monitoring of the community through the establishment of networks with citizens and such mechanisms as mini-stations, which encourage citizens to come forward with their concerns. On the basis of these continuous contacts with the community, leaders can develop long-term strategies. These strategies are necessary in providing a sense of the direction the department is taking. They should serve as guidelines for action rather than prescriptions as they must be flexible enough to accommodate changes in the community and general enough to allow for the use of discretion and innovation on the part of rank and file members of the force.

Traditional policing has been preoccupied with the administrative concerns of planning, budgeting, organizing and controlling. Community policing must harness the talent of the personnel within the department as individual members will be taking more decisions, assuming leadership roles, and relying on their interpersonal skills as opposed to obeying commands. The challenge for leaders will be to find ways of managing their people that will motivate them and best exploit their abilities. Just

as in the private sector, there needs to be a realization that people constitute the main resource of an organization and an excessive focus on administration is both a waste of time and an encumbrance to the expression of the talent and energy within the organization.

Police leaders also need to realize that a shift from traditional to community policing does not represent a one-time change, following which the organization can once again become stagnant. The essence of community policing is that the police organization opens itself to the community and acknowledges that community needs, as well as a multitude of other factors in the external environment, are constantly undergoing change. Leaders must therefore adapt themselves and organizational structures to this reality of a dynamic world, rather than manage the status quo--it has been said that they must "learn to love change". Change must be viewed as a normal development and not as indicative of a crisis. True leaders initiate change rather than go along with it. Police executive must learn to monitor all aspects of their environment closely and adapt their organizations quickly to new developments. From the vast amount of information to which they will increasingly be exposed, particularly in a community-oriented department, they must discern trends and patterns that serve as the basis for the strategies they develop.

Finally, leaders must lead. Most of us can identify with the idea that it is what one does, not what one says, that counts in influencing the behaviour of others. The actions and characteristics of police leaders have a profound impact on behaviour throughout the organization. To inspire respect and confidence, they must be viewed as intelligent, fair, honest, courageous, and persevering. In an era of change, they must not only be flexible, adaptable, and self-critical to deal with the external environment, they must possess these attributes to gain the respect of, and serve as an example to, lower-ranking personnel. After all, the new model of policing demands that personnel throughout the organization are open to new ideas and input from the environment, rather than closed and defensive. Leaders must therefore pave the way for this new openness and sensitivity by displaying these characteristics themselves. Above all, leaders in organizations adopting a community policing model must be team players in recognition of the active role played by personnel throughout the organization. This style of policing is incompatible with a vision of employees as a mere cog in a large corporate machine.

4.6 POLICE ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE

This section deals with the way police services should be organized throughout Canada. At the present, arrangements are highly complex and asymmetrical. Police forces range in size and sophistication from the RCMP, which handles everything from complex international crimes to rural policing, to municipal police forces having only one constable. Only two of the ten provinces, Ontario and Quebec, have their own provincial police forces.

One issue of concern is whether the RCMP should continue to perform municipal and rural policing or whether these tasks should become provincialized. The argument for the establishment of provincial forces in the eight provinces not possessing them is that the RCMP is too large and, by virtue of its centralized structure, is limited in its responsiveness to local needs. Local detachments follow standardized procedures whether operating in the Yukon or Prince Edward Island. Another difficulty is that the administration of justice, constitutionally, is a responsibility of the provinces. Conflicts may arise because local detachments of the RCMP could sometimes march to two drums: the RCMP Act and provincial legislation. Thus, the ultimate accountability of these local services is unclear.

The argument for the status quo is that the RCMP is a proud, highly prestigious, and internationally recognized organization that ought not to be restructured. The fact that they provide policing on contract for many municipalities is, according to this argument, an indication that they provide quality, cost-effective service. Furthermore, the RCMP has longstanding experience in both traditional policing as well as more complex matters, such as sophisticated white collar crimes. The counter argument is that the two provincial police forces currently in existence in Ontario and Quebec, too, are technically competent and have a proven capability to deal with highly specialized criminal matters.

Another organizational issue is that of the regionalization of police services. In Ontario and Quebec alone, there are some 70 municipal police departments with five or fewer police officers. The question is whether these municipalities would get more mileage from their resources if they were to consolidate with other communities and form regional police forces. Such consolidation has been fairly prevalent in Ontario. There are arguments on both sides and, as yet, little empirical research to provide conclusive evidence regarding the merits of regionalization.

Proponents of regionalization argue that service will improve at reduced costs. This is so, they argue, because administrative costs on the whole are reduced through consolidation and the total number of personnel required for a regional police force is lower than the total for all municipal forces combined. It is also argued that supervision of personnel is greater in a regional force and support services are superior. Facilities, such as those used for training, can be shared. Another point worth considering is that offenders do not tend to respect jurisdictional boundaries. Where small municipalities border on one another, there is likely to be considerable movement from one community to another; hence, coordinated efforts may make more sense than acting in isolation. Moreover, smaller departments, by virtue of their lack of specialized resources and expertise, are not equipped to handle more sophisticated crimes. It is therefore said that they have a strong bias toward traditional law enforcement.

The position against regionalization is essentially that larger regional police forces are not as responsive to community needs and values as are smaller local forces. Thus, public satisfaction, it is contended, will be at a lower level than with respect to local forces. It is also claimed that the economies of scale argument has not yet been demonstrated by proponents of regionalization. Not everyone is convinced that the smaller services waste more or provide inferior service. The amalgamation of police forces within the Montreal Urban Community led to a shifting of personnel from suburban residential areas to the downtown core. To compensate, some of these residential

areas have hired private security firms or developed parallel public safety services to patrol their neighbourhoods. Clearly, they were dissatisfied with the services following consolidation and any calculation of the costs of regionalization must take into account these additional expenditures for private policing.

Regionalization need not be an all or nothing proposition; a mixed model can be adopted as a compromise solution. Where a number of small municipalities border next to one another, they can retain a lean force to do routine patrol work. This small force can then adapt to the needs of each community. At the same time, a regionalization of more specialized services can take place. Thus, perhaps, investigations and crime analysis can be undertaken, and special squads formed on a regional level, as it is not cost effective to maintain such functions within each individual community.

The movement toward regionalization strikes at the very heart of one of the major trends in policing; that of decentralization. The community policing movement entails decentralization on two levels: within police organizations and between the various levels of policing. Community policing requires that rank-and-file police officers have more discretion so they can adapt to specific situations and the needs expressed by citizens. The need to make police departments more responsive to the community also seems to favour the formation of smaller, local departments as well as the necessity of vesting greater authority in local officials. At the same time, the formation of provincial police commissions and the development of standards for police services are moving ahead. Also, when local policing is undertaken by larger forces such as the RCMP, higher standards may prevail on a more consistent basis. The quality is consistent and predictable, but lacks a local flavour. The larger forces tend to engage in more long-term planning, rather than merely react to crime. They also tend to maintain higher standards of performance through more systematic audits. A fundamental dilemma, therefore, is whether to opt for these advantages or for community choice and diversity.

Choices in the future must also be made in relation to the internal organization of police departments. Traditionally, police forces have been organized in a paramilitary fashion. Recruits were exposed to uniform basic training and, regardless of their skills and motivation, started their careers as constables and then moved up the ladder, if successful, to investigator and manager. Learning primarily occurred on the job. By virtue of success and seniority at one level, the individual was promoted to the next level. A person who is a good constable, however, does not necessarily make a good detective or administrator. In all hierarchical structures such as these, the "Peter Principle" may well apply in many cases as no special preparation is needed to reach higher levels; competence at lower levels is all that one must demonstrate. From an economic point of view, an individual who is only modestly talented and motivated may reach, by virtue of seniority, a level far beyond his or her capabilities and must be remunerated accordingly.

Table 7 displays the alternative to this militaristic organizational model. According to this model, also referred to as the "Tier Model", police departments would be split into a number of levels or tiers, with lateral entry occurring at the highest levels, as is the case with most public and private organizations. Obviously, such a tier model presupposes a fairly sizable department.

Table 7 provides an example of how such a model would work. In this example, a department would be divided into five tiers: constable, community police officer, specialized officer, manager, and civilian (the last could enter at different levels). Although some movement could take from one tier to another, such movement could not be assumed or expected. An individual entering as a constable would expect to remain a constable unless he/she returned to school and received the enriched training to become, for example, a community police officer. He would not merely be promoted as in the past, as success as a constable is by no means an assurance that he/she could perform the more sophisticated tasks required in the position of community police officer. In this hypothesized model, a constable would need to have a high school diploma as a minimum entry requirement and would receive some police academy training, with the focus on physical skills--the use of a service revolver, physical conditioning, self-defence, and so on. Training would be upgraded periodically. The tasks of a constable would be surveillance, traffic duties, and handling straightforward calls such as accidents and those triggered by alarm systems. The salary level might be at about $30,000 after three years, with scale increases thereafter based on merit and experience. Currently, first class constables in Canada's larger cities make considerable more than that amount. This salary bracket might be appropriate, however, given the tasks and education required of constables in the tier model.

Given the current emphasis on community policing, a community police officer position could be created. This position would require superior interpersonal skills, as it would be this officer who would most directly and regularly interact with the public. As a minimum requirement, the position would require a community college degree and training that would include an enriched component (e.g., social science courses and enriched police academy training). Most routine patrol would be handled by this officer, as would problem-solving in the community. The salary of this type of officer would be more in line with current first class constables ($40,000 to $50,000) and a merit component should be built into the salary structure in recognition of the importance accorded quality service in the community policing mode.

The next level would comprise specialized officers who would perform investigations and work in special squads (e.g., robbery, homicide, hostage-taking). This level would require a community college to undergraduate degree, as well as a specialized training in a police academy. The salary level would be above the average community police officer but the best CPO could have a salary like Tier 3 at some point through merit.

The next tier would contain the police managers. The requirement for entry to this level would be an undergraduate to graduate degree, with special police executive training as offered by the Canadian Police College. Ongoing training would comprise executive training courses perhaps

offered by those with expertise in private enterprise. Managers would handle administrative tasks, be responsible for programs and policies, as well as conduct, or at least coordinate research. The salary level for managers would be at the level of managers in private enterprise, although the size and resources of the department would be a factor in determining this salary.

A final form of entry that must be considered is civilian entry. Civilians would not make up a tier as such but could enter at different levels to handle everything from secretarial and clerical tasks to highly specialized tasks such as the investigation of economic crimes and ballistics.

Since movement from one tier to another would not be the norm, some ranking must be established within each tier to create incentives for good performance. Where movement did take place between tiers, it would have to be accompanied by the requisite upgrading in education and training, and would be accompanied by the relevant increase in salary.

TABLE 7

A TIER MODEL FOR POLICE OFFICERS

TITLE	LEVEL OF RECRUITMENT	TRAINING	TASKS	SALARY
CONSTABLE	HIGH SCHOOL	POLICE ACADEMY 1	SURVEILLANCE PARKING TRAFFIC ACCIDENT AMBULANCE ALARM	25 000 $ TO 35 000 $
COMMUNITY POLICE OFFICER	COMMUNITY COLLEGE	POLICE ACADEMY 2	PROACTIVE PATROL PREVENTION LAW ENFORCEMENT COMM. RELATIONS	35 000 $ TO 55 000 $
SPECIALIZED POLICE OFFICER	COMMUNITY COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY	POLICE ACADEMY 3	INVESTIGATION SPECIAL SQUAD PREVENTION	55 000 $ TO 65 000 $
POLICE MANAGER	COMMUNITY COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY	POLICE ACADEMY 4 AND UNIVERSITY	ADMINISTRATION POLICY PROGRAM RESEARCH	65 000 $ TO 95 000 $
POLICE CHIEF	UNIVERSITY	UNIVERSITY	ADMINISTRATION LEADERSHIP COMMUNICATOR	COMPARABLE: PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

4.7 EFFECTIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY

How well do the police do their work? How cost effective are they? These are the type of questions being asked of organizations in general and not merely of the police. Because local police forces consume a significant proportion of municipal budgets, taxpayers have the right to know where their money is going and whether the police are responsive to their needs. The growing consumerist movement has enhanced the assertiveness of citizens in asking these kinds of questions. The era in which citizens and the media submit passively to the police and accept their procedures and practices unconditionally has come to an end.

Before discussing the issues pertaining to the evaluation of police performance, the implications of such assessments need to be addressed. Although accountability in all spheres is currently being stressed, it is important to underscore the fact that evaluations not only reflect performance but affect it in a profound way. If police officers are judged on the basis of the number of traffic tickets they issue, they will focus more attention on ticketing than they would in a department in which ticketing is not a performance criterion. The progressive police executive, therefore, realizes that the factors taken into account in assessing performance will dictate the behaviour of personnel in the organization. As such, careful consideration must be given to aligning the performance measures with the goals of an organization. In the same way, elected officials and police commissions, when evaluating the performance of an entire police force (or that of a police chief), are now aware of the extent to which the criteria they adopt will shape the direction of the organization.

The evaluative criteria used traditionally in formal and informal (e.g., by the media) assessments of police forces have included crime rates in the relevant jurisdiction, arrest rates, clearance rates, the speed of response, and the number of police officers per capita. All these measures are problematic in some way.

Crime rates are poor measures of performance because there are so many different social forces affecting crime levels apart from police behaviour; in fact, existing evidence suggests that most traditional police initiatives, such as preventive patrol and rapid response, have minimal impact on crime. Socio-economic factors, demographics, neighbourhood cohesion, familial characteristics, substance abuse, and cultural factors, to name only a few, play a larger role in determining a community's crime problem than what the police do. Increasing crime rates can no more be blamed on the police than can declining rates be credited to them.

The arrest rate of a department, too, is a deficient measure. Police departments do many things other than arrest people, such as initiate crime prevention programs. Also, whether an arrest is made in a particular case is largely dependent on information provided to the police by victims and witnesses. Very seldom do arrests occur as a result of sophisticated investigative techniques or laboratory analysis. Furthermore, a high volume of arrests may not reflect effectiveness or efficiency at all but simply a tendency to arrest suspects, rather than to warn or divert them, on the part of a given police force.

Clearance or solution rates are also problematic as performance measures because they can be fiddled with through adopting loose definitions of what constitutes the clearance of a case. Clearance rates can be driven up by a number of manoeuvres including that of striking deals with suspects in order to get them to confess to as many crimes as possible.

Rapid response, another conventional criterion of success, also is flawed as a performance measure because response time is largely a function of how quickly victims or bystanders call the police during or after an incident. In many instances, the delay at this stage is greater than the time it actually takes the police to get to the scene of the offence upon their receipt of a call. In addition, rapid response is irrelevant to many calls and police duties. In the case of a break-in, for example, the perpetrators have long gone by the time victims realize their premises have been burglarized. Interventions into personal conflicts, too, are less likely to require fast responses as intelligent ones.

Even the number of police officers in a force has been used as an indication that a community is well protected. This factor, of course, is no indication of the "quality of service" provided by a police force. In fact, in an era of fiscal constraints, a lean and efficient police department may well be considered superior to an expansive one.

The aforementioned measures are inadequate as indicators of performance even within a traditional mode of policing; they are still less adequate in the context of community policing. Community policing requires not only the use of other measurable indicators but the use of qualitative ones. After all, how does one measure reliably the public's sense of security, the integrity of personnel, or the symbolic role served by the mere presence of a police force. There is a quandary in this context because, on one hand, there may be a demand, in assessing either a police force or personnel, for standardized, "objective" measures of performance. On the other hand, numbers often do not do justice to the quality of service a police force or officer provides. Also, while it may be desirable to compare departments within a given region and hence to adopt standardized indices of performance, such measures negate the value of adapting the objectives and practices of a force to the characteristics of the community it polices.

The pressure to obtain measurable results tends to lead to a reliance on quantitative data, the most accessible of which are crime and solution-based statistics. These measures are easy to obtain and possess an aura of scientific credibility when examined by police, elected officials, and the public. The fact is that police work is largely "demand-driven" and community policing especially is client-centred. In this context, the unilateral decisions by police departments to adopt particular performance measures, all of which are generated within the organization, make little sense.

One suggestion has been to undertake surveys in the community in relation to either specific aspects of police work or public satisfaction in general. Those having contacts with the police in a given year could be surveyed about the nature of their treatment, their perceptions of the quality of the investigation, and so on. Or, the community in general could be surveyed about its perceptions of the police and the fear of crime.

Although such consumer surveys seem sensible, they are fraught with problems and dangers. First,

they are far more expensive to conduct than is crime analysis. Then, there are some methodological issues. Surveys usually yield modest response rates: one never knows whether those who have participated are a particularly disenchanted lot. The way questions are phrased is important as is the selection of neutral and non-threatening interviewers. The analysis of open-ended, qualitative information is always highly subjective. In addition, will people be swayed by one incident or by a historical mistrust of the police; in other words, will responses be largely emotional rather than fair? Furthermore, a police department might trample on the rights of a minority and yet still be given high ratings by the majority of residents. If one simply does a tally as to the percentage of citizens who are satisfied, such abuses may be lost and result in a type of tyranny of the majority.

Such dangers make it clear that, although surveys might be used as one measure, they should not be the sole measure. In fact, many innovative measures have been suggested, some of which can be obtained through surveys and others through other means. It should be noted that the traditional measures need not be discarded; they, however, should not be used exclusively and in some cases need to be modified. For example, rapid response may be a more appropriate measure in relation to some crimes (e.g., robbery) than others (e.g., break and enter).

Literally hundreds of measures have been advanced. The list below contains just a few:

- The leadership qualities possessed by the police chief;
- Organizational characteristics such as the clarity of objectives, adaptability, morale, efficiency, information management, and the value of human resources;
- The integrity of personnel;
- The respect police officers have for individual rights;
- The ability of a department to co-operate with other agencies and to take advantage of all community resources in dealing with community problems;
- The department's ability to communicate well with the public and to be accessible to it;
- The department's relations with the media;
- The involvement of the police and the community in crime prevention programs; and
- The extent of public fear, satisfaction, and complaints against the police.

This list gives an indication of the divergent performance measures available in assessing police performance. Because any one measure is flawed in some way, it might be recommended that departments use several different types of measures and that these measures be generated from different sources as well. Thus, one or more measures may be drawn from police statistics, others from a community survey, and still others from a peer review or a consulting agency.

Just as in the field of corrections, some have contended that in policing "nothing works". Perhaps it is true that traditional emphases in police work, such as preventive patrol and rapid response, have been disappointing in terms of their ability to deal with crime. Nevertheless, some measures have been shown to bear fruit. Recent experiments in community policing, for example, have shown that levels of satisfaction among the public, as well as their sense of security were enhanced by this new model of policing. Also, measures by potential victims to protect themselves, whether individuals or businesses, have often proven successful. These defensive measures are frequently facilitated by the police. As such, some crime preventive measures and problem solving techniques work and it is upon these that police departments should concentrate their efforts.

4.8 ACCOUNTABILITY AND PUBLIC COMPLAINTS

The effective and efficient operation of a police force constitute but two of the forms of accountability to the community. An issue gaining increasing attention in recent years is the alleged abuse of police power in some instances. Some recent incidents have mobilized minority communities and placed police procedures, as well as racial attitudes of personnel, under closer scrutiny. With Canada becoming progressively more multicultural, the issues of racial bias and brutality are likely to become more salient in the years to come.

The Canadian public in general is more vocal and inquisitive than in the past, demanding more information from the police and desiring greater input into police practices. The movement toward community policing, too, entails greater participation by the public in policing as well as more openness on the part of police organizations.

Overall, police services today are accountable in at least four different ways: administratively, politically, to the public, and legally. From an administrative point of view, fiscal constraints require that police departments document clearly the tasks they perform, as well as the effectiveness of these. Furthermore, they must account for the manner in which resources and personnel are used.

Political accountability refers to the adherence to Acts such as the RCMP Act or the Provincial Police Acts. In addition, police services must adhere to the guidelines of local police boards and provincial police commissions as well as are accountable to local elected officials who oversee their activities and determine their budgets.

Accountability to the community is of the foremost concern with the increasing popularity of community policing and the vision of the public as consumers of police services. With the idea that members of the community should have an agenda-setting role as well as a say in operational matters (e.g., problem-solving), it becomes obvious that ongoing consultations need to take place between the police and the public. The "public" can mean various things. Individuals may bring relatively limited matters or concerns to the attention of the police. Neighbourhood groups and associations may make representations to the police or even constitute a form of town council that has a continuing role in setting police policies. The business community, too, will want input into the activities of the police. Finally, the media, with the ability it has to shape public opinion about crime and the efficacy of police efforts, needs to be dealt with in a serious and competent way so as to provide a favourable image of the police and an accurate picture of the crime problem.

Then, of course, there is legal accountability which is necessary in light of police powers and the possibility of abuses of various kinds. There is the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which exemplifies the preoccupation in this country with individual rights. The historical failure of the police to vigorously and openly investigate allegations of misconduct, has led to the establishment of formal mechanisms to handle public complaints against the police. There is a Public Complaints Commission, for example, to handle complaints against the RCMP. The provinces are at various stages in the development of such mechanisms. Also, at least one major city (Toronto) has established a public complaints commission. What is interesting is that even some police rank-and-file have been in favour of an external review of complaints as they have viewed traditional internal investigations as "kangaroo courts".

Although such support of a public complaints office may exist in theory, experience suggests that, when implemented in practice, strong opposition may occur. In the case of Metropolitan Toronto, the police association put forth at some point a wholehearted effort to undermine the position of the Public Complaints Commissioner. One argument against civilian participation in the handling of complaints against the police is that it will erode the morale of a force and foster antagonistic "we/they" relationships between the police and the public.

In developing the actual procedures to be followed upon receipt of a complaint, one has to bear in mind the possibility that the authority of a police department may be undermined and, with it, morale seriously damaged. The issue is the extent to which the police retain responsibility for investigating complaints once a Public Complaints Office has been established. Does the Office serve as a catalyst to get the department to deal more vigorously with misconduct within its ranks or does it take over completely?

There is a benefit to be gained from encouraging the development of more responsible behaviour on the part of the police themselves. Aside from the detrimental effect on morale of taking over the entire process, delegating responsibility to the police can enlist their investigative skills and resources in determining the specifics of a case. It can give them a stake in the process and encourage self-regulation. A system that is merely imposed on the police and strips them of all authority is one which they may well try to undermine.

An example of such a compromise can be found in Metropolitan Toronto. In the model adopted

there, it is the police who ordinarily undertake the initial investigation of a complaint. The Public Complaints Commissioner monitors the investigation and can review a case at the behest of the complainant; therefore, this Office retains considerable authority. Still, the right to perform the initial investigation invites criticisms that the procedure is less than impartial and subject to manipulation. Clearly, there is a fine line that civilian review bodies must walk between being co-opted by the police and being rendered useless, on the one hand, and undermining police authority and being sabotaged, on the other. Although civilian overview of police behaviour causes some obvious tensions, the functions it serves are vital, particularly at a time when police departments are reaching out to the community. The mere existence of these structures promoting accountability will hopefully make police forces and their individual personnel more sensitive to the rights of individuals. Not only do these structures deal with gross misconduct, such as abuses of power, criminal acts by police officers, and racial discrimination, they deal with all forms of complaints, such as the failure to assist a citizen in need. Such a mechanism, therefore, may also sensitize the force about their helping role in the community. Gaining the public's trust and respect is also crucial if the police are to discharge their more traditional tasks optimally in the community.

It is also hoped that a public complaints office will play a preventive role rather than merely react case-by-case to incidents that are interconnected. A series of incidents involving a minority group may be related to widespread negative attitudes toward that group within a force and a communication problem between the force and that community, rather than represent a series of isolated acts on the part of a fringe group of racist officers. A Public Complaints Commissioner might deem it appropriate, for example, to make some recommendations to the police chief about incipient racism within the organization. Otherwise, such an office will merely promote the "rotten apple" approach to police misconduct.

It is not only the organizational roots of police misbehaviour that must be recognized. It has been argued that there is an inherent tension between the objective of crime control and that of ensuring that citizens receive due process before the law. These objectives may come in conflict when circumventing the law in some way (e.g., through gathering evidence illegally) may lead to the successful prosecution of a major perpetrator. "Misconduct" in such instances may not only be condoned informally within a police organization, but by much of the community as well. One often hears members of the public bemoan the fact that a perpetrator was not proceeded against or evidence not admitted in judicial proceedings because some technical violation occurred in obtaining the evidence. Thus, the community also often sends contradictory signals. Everybody wants their own rights protected; however, some are willing to give their police department a freer hand even if that means the violation of the rights of suspects. Thus, a Public Complaints Commissioner might also serve the function of informing the public about the contradictory expectations they frequently place on their local police departments and how these contribute to police misconduct. The educational effect of such an Office on police officers themselves also cannot be overlooked.

4.9 STANDARDS AND ACCREDITATION

The development of standards and formal codes of conduct has been a trend in many professions

over the past 20 or so years. Not surprisingly, the issue has been raised as to whether standards should be established in relation to police services in Canada. If the answer is in the affirmative, the question then becomes that of whether the creation of such standards is a federal or provincial responsibility. Given the constitutional responsibility of the provinces over the administration of justice and the existence of provincial police commissions in the majority of provinces, as well as the cultural differences in different regions of Canada, it might be reasonable to place such a responsibility in provincial hands.

Why should standards be considered? The answer is quite obvious: the police have far-reaching responsibilities and powers. The potential for the violation of civil liberties, brutality, and corruption is ever present. Also, municipal police services consume a large chunk of local budgets. Standards are a way of providing formalized, positive guidelines for police work, although they also tend to contain provisions relating to sanctions for misconduct. Standards are developed by first identifying the major tasks and responsibilities within a given profession. One point of departure might be a mission statement, such as that suggested in this report. A mission statement provides the general objectives, methods, and values adhered to by a police department. Perhaps, in establishing a province-wide accreditation system, a provincial mission statement can be formulated in consultation with the municipal police forces within that province.

Standards can run the gamut of police work. They can cover the methods to be used by officers other than just arresting people. They can relate to the use of police discretion and the manner in which administrators can structure and control such discretion. They can require accountability and suggest administrative mechanisms to foster proper conduct. Standards can also relate to the role of police unions and collective bargaining, as well as deal with the right to strike of police officers. They can set out the type of skills officers must possess and the way in which recruitment, training, and education should impart requisite skills and knowledge. Standards can also spell out the vital role played by police administrators and the qualifications for the position of police chief. They can reinforce the importance of evaluating the functioning of a police department and can provide some guidelines regarding the evaluative criteria to be used. There can also be standards for the process of policy-making (e.g., whether members of the public should have input).

The aforementioned are just some of the areas to which standards can apply. Whether standards are set by the federal government or provinces, care must be exercised to avoid excessive detail, because such detail will undermine authority and initiative at the local level. Local input, as has been stressed so often in this report, is the direction in which the police are moving in the years to come. If police departments are to be responsive to the locality, federal and provincial authorities should exercise the principle of minimal intervention; that is, standards should pertain to only the most basic and important values that federal or provincial agencies wish to promote.

A system of accreditation could be established on the basis of agreed upon standards in order to give the standards some teeth. In this context, there is a possible movement toward the development of national standards and compliance mechanisms in Canada. The federal Ministry of the Solicitor General has recently funded a feasibility study undertaken on behalf of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police to explore the development of such standards and mechanisms. Although such a system might be perceived as threatening by local forces, they might provide these forces valuable

feedback regarding the performance of their duties. Accreditation might also be a way of providing members of the public an objective indication of the performance of their municipal department. If the audits associated with accreditation were to take place every few years only, local departments would be free to exercise their day-to-day responsibilities as they deem appropriate without constantly feeling that a "sword of Damocles" hangs overhead.

V. NEW STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS

It is increasingly being recognized that police work is not an isolated activity performed in a social vacuum. As discussed in Chapter 4, the police are accountable to various sectors: the legal, political, and the public at large. Furthermore, the idea of the professional police force working miracles on its own is an anachronism. Even traditional police work, including preventive patrol, rapid response, and apprehending offenders, cannot be performed without the regular cooperation of ordinary citizens. In community policing, of course, the public and elected officials are at the centre of setting the agenda for policing. In terms of crime prevention, the social development approach is currently gaining ascendance. This approach emphasizes the role of social agencies in bringing people into the mainstream of society and thereby preventing their involvement in criminal lifestyles. As such, whether the objectives are more traditional or relate more to community policing, creating new strategic partnerships will be the name of the game for policing in the future.

5.1 A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE KEY PLAYERS

The need for adaptiveness on the part of police leaders, as well as their ability to relate to other organizations, interest groups, and individuals is underscored by the growing number of players influencing police departments. Figures "D" and "E", as well as Table 8 show that formally there are three sets of players which might be referred to as the **"strategic triad": (1) elected officials, (2) police managers, and (3) police unions and officers. In the centre of this triad is the community which, especially in the context of community policing, is the most important player in the partnership.**

The elected officials most directly influencing city police forces are municipal councils. Some of the larger municipal or regional police forces also have their own police local commissions. There are provincial police forces in Ontario and Quebec with which local departments may need to cooperate, as well as the RCMP, which will interface with local departments from time to time. Provinces, too, have police commissions and ministries which oversee police services and set policies regarding policing within their jurisdictions. At the national level, there is the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada which convenes meetings, sets general guidelines, and provides support in research, policies, and programs. The Centre for Justice Statistics at Statistics Canada, too, provides guidelines regarding the format in which crime statistics should be gathered.

The second component of the strategic triad comprises chiefs of police and other police executives. Traditionally, they have risen through the ranks, although there are some examples of executives drawn from other sectors, such as academia. The background of the chief will have a profound impact upon a department. Police leaders, of course, must work within legal and budgetary constraints to orchestrate coherent policies while bearing in mind the numerous internal and external pressures on their departments, as well as the trend toward increasing decentralization.

The third major force in this triad is the rank and file who, in the larger departments at least, tend to be unionized. Their agenda, of course, is to maximize pay and benefits, as well as to improve

working conditions. The role of the union is vital as unionization often brings with it the tendency to demand more specific job descriptions, structure, specialization, and overall rigidity, all of which are antithetical to flexibility in police practices. Increased discretion and risk-taking brings with it greater responsibility and dangers. The challenge of police executives will be to persuade unions that the more fluid and flexible practices associated with community policing are in the interests of their members. The challenge to the unions is whether they are willing to sacrifice some routinization of police work, which makes decisions regarding promotion and pay increases more objective, in the interest of permitting the membership to achieve some less tangible, but in some ways more valuable, gratification from their work.

The conception of labour relations as adversarial and confrontational is "dépassé". A new type of union-management partnership is a must in the context of providing quality service to the community. The language in labour relations in general is changing dramatically. Some managers talk about "participatory management", "shared responsibilities", and common values and objectives with the employees and their unions or associations. Some of the largest and most powerful unions have spoken recently of "conciliatory syndicalism" rather than a confrontational syndicalism. They want to participate directly in the organization of work and want their members to take responsibility for providing quality goods and services. This new flexibility on the part of unions is a trade-off, on their part, for greater participation. A "new social contract" between unions and management is certainly a necessity in being competitive and providing the best possible services.

Figures "D" and "E", as well as Table 8 show that at the core of this strategic triad is the community at large. With community policing the role of citizens, special interest groups, and the media will become still more prominent. Neighbourhood associations and individual citizens will interact directly with police officers and even police chiefs, if the latter take a more hands-on approach that is characteristic of highly successful organizations. Citizens can also voice their concerns about crime through local elections and hence can influence policing indirectly through their elected leaders. This channel of influence, however, may become less significant if members of the community feel that their local department is receptive to their needs. Problem solving approaches and crime prevention through social development will also involve many local departments such as those dealing with housing, welfare, and mental health.

The equation, therefore, is a complex one, with police managers trying to forge coherent and meaningful policies while at the same time accommodating participants at so many levels. They must strike a difficult balance between being rigid, on one hand, and drifting into chaos, on the other. They must make each player feel that suggestions are taken seriously and be able to communicate why a particular solution was not adopted when this is the case. They must be able to filter a vast amount of information, extracting that which is vital and then adapting policy to it. The other players, for their part, must be sensitized to the awesome task to which police forces are exposed. Expectations must be reasonable. Rather than pulling police forces from all sides and acting as nothing more than a collection of special interest groups, the different players must realize that it is in the mutual interest to act as partners in dealing with some common problems. No change or innovation in policing is significant without a new and open partnership.

FIGURE "D"

COMMUNITY POLICING
A NEW PARTNERSHIP

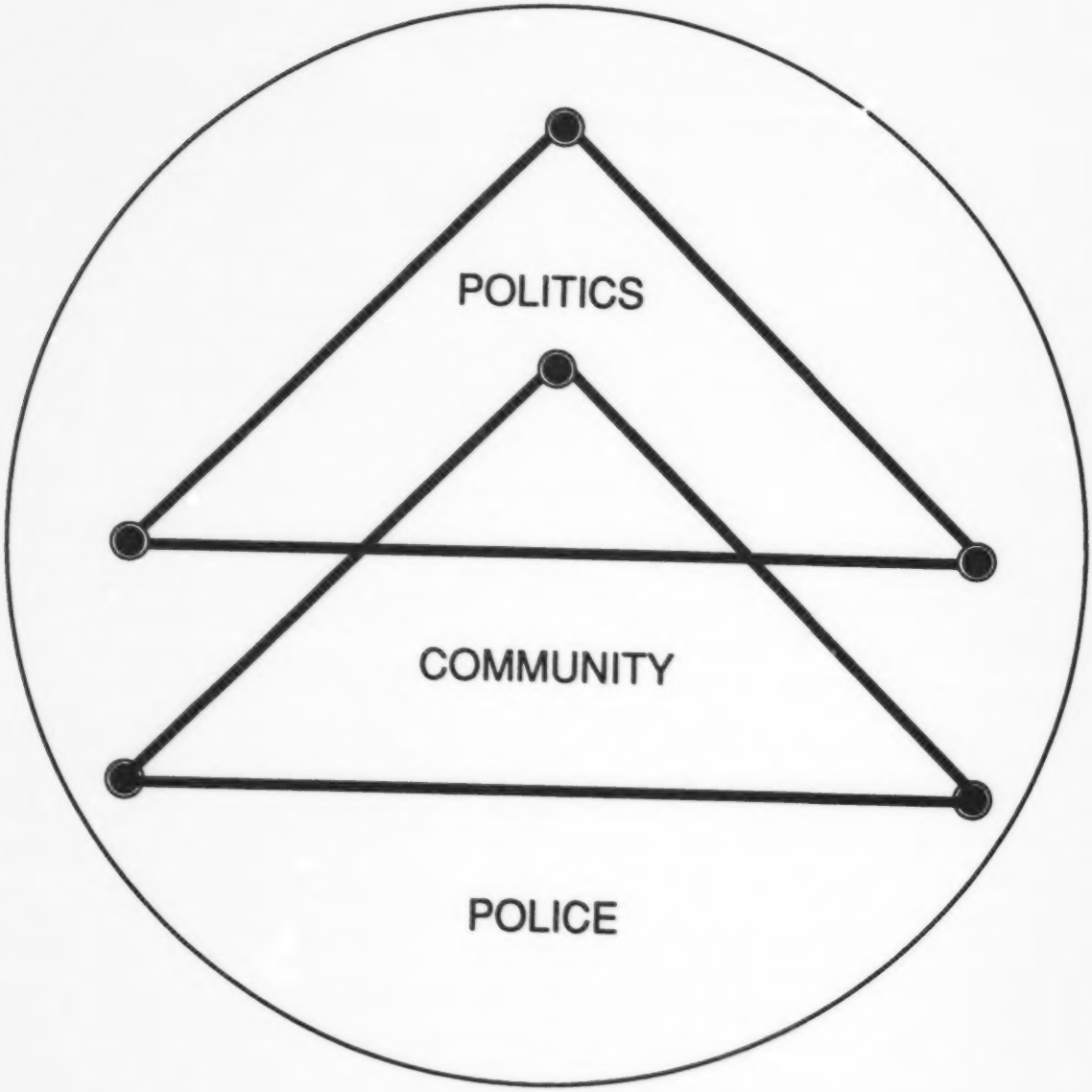
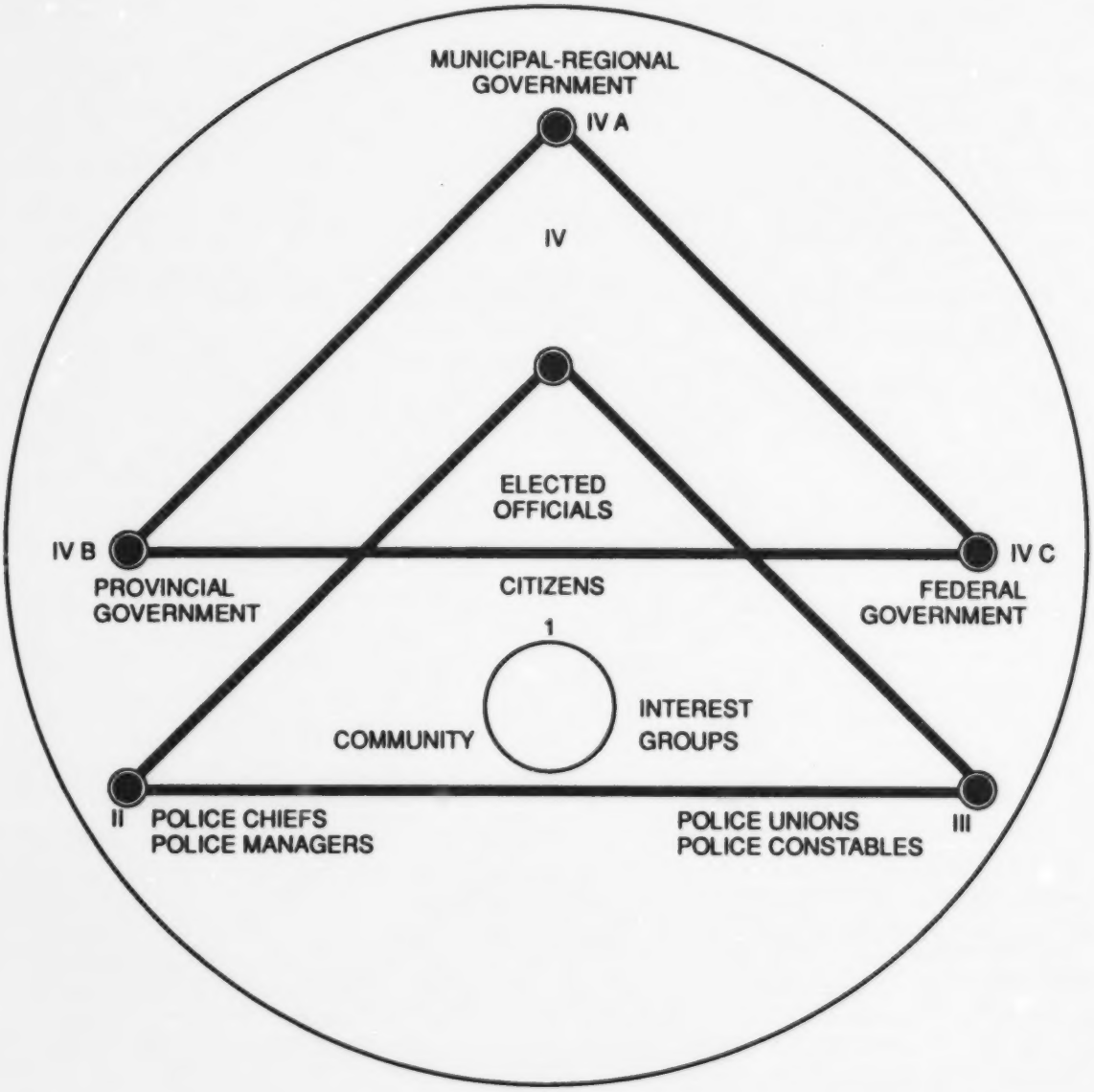


FIGURE "E"

COMMUNITY POLICING
A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN
THE KEY PLAYERS



THE COMMUNITY

TABLE 8

COMMUNITY POLICING

A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE KEY PLAYERS

I. **COMMUNITY INTEREST GROUPS**

- Citizen, taxpayer, voter
- Media
- Associations
- Non-Governmental Organizations
- Consultative Committees
- Colleges, Universities
- Volunteers
- Victims of Crime
- Families, Schools, Churches
- Work Place
- Leisure Milieu

II. **POLICE MANAGERS**

- Police Chiefs
- Police Managers
- Public Safety, Private Security

III. **POLICE OFFICERS**

- Police Unions or Associations
- Rank and File Police Constables
- Public Safety, Private Security

TABLE 8 (continued)

IV. **ELECTED OFFICIALS**

A. **MUNICIPAL-REGIONAL GOVERNMENT**

- Mayors, Municipal Councillors
- Local Boards of Police Commissioners

B. **PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT**

- Ministers and Provincial Departments in Charge of Provincial Police Acts
- Police Directorates in Provincial Departments (policy, program, research)
- Provincial Police Commissions

C. **FEDERAL GOVERNMENT**

- Solicitor General of Canada (Minister and Ministry) in Charge of the RCMP Act
- Police and Security Branch of the Solicitor General of Canada (policy, program, research)
- Department of Justice of Canada (Minister and Ministry) in Charge of some Dossiers: Crime Prevention, Victims of Crime, Gun Control...

5.2 A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC SERVICES

The trend in policing is to involve the community in both setting the agenda of police departments and in the actual efforts to deal with crime and other community problems. This trend fits well with the current thrust in the area of crime prevention, where a number of international congresses and publications have recently stressed the role of widespread community involvement in reducing criminality. There is a growing recognition that violence, drug abuse, and other serious concerns must be countered through concerted action on the part of public officials and agencies at all levels, rather than through an exclusive reliance upon the criminal justice system. This trend toward crime prevention through social development assumes that crime arises out of socio-economic deficits rather than the personal deficits of a fringe criminal group. Social development approaches also favour long-term primary and secondary preventive strategies, rather than the isolated, after-the-fact interventions so characteristic of traditional responses to crime.

The Federation of Canadian Municipalities is particularly instrumental in attempting to facilitate and orchestrate national efforts to deal with crime and other urban problems. Meetings are convened between members, congresses are sponsored, and information is exchanged between municipalities in order to enhance efforts aimed at some of these problems. Coordination, too, is stressed in dealing with such problems as drug abuse. This coordination includes both mutual aid among municipalities and the use of resources contained within each municipality.

It is not hard to see how different sectors are relevant to crime-fighting and problem solving. If economic factors are partly responsible for crime, policies and programs at the national and provincial levels can impact standards of living. In order to resist the formation of a large social underclass, efforts need to be made to involve young people from disadvantaged backgrounds in education, job training and employment programs, recreation, and even directly in crime prevention. Provincial and community social services departments and agencies need to reach out to dysfunctional families and assist those lacking in adequate parenting skills. Proper pre and postnatal care, day care, and other efforts that invest in children must be ensured by the federal government. Federal departments, such as that of Indian and Northern Affairs, provincial social services, and other agencies need to work with representatives of indigenous peoples to prevent further destruction of their cultures. Community leaders and institutions (schools, churches, business, etc.) must strive to ensure that people develop bonds with the community and can identify with the local culture and institutions.

Drug abuse can be dealt with both on the demand and supply end. The alienation and hopelessness of youth are two major factors involved in substance abuse. The involvement of youth in community life and the development of fiscal policies, at all levels of government, that address their problems, are two important ways to deal with these demand-related factors. On the supply side, the federal government and RCMP must work with the international community in curbing the drug traffic, as well as provide support to and exploit the information possessed by local law enforcement and other agencies dealing with this problem.

It is now recognized that the physical environment, too, can contribute to crime and disorder in a number of ways. Abandoned neighbourhoods and buildings, signs of vandalism and decay, streets that are unused at night, houses that are not visible from the street, store windows containing signs and

merchandise that obstruct the view inside of passerby are just a few means by which temptations and opportunities are created by the state of the physical environment. Urban planners, housing agencies, developers, landowners, tenants groups, merchants, among others, have roles to play in this regard. The physical environment (e.g., that of an overcrowded housing project) can also stifle the development of constructive activities and interactions among residents and can impede the delivery of adequate services to those needing them.

These are just some of the ways in which public services, as well as other organizations, are relevant to dealing with crime and other social problems, as indicated in Figure "F" and Table 9. Above all, strong moral and political leadership must be taken by elected officials at all levels. Local preventive efforts must be supported by national policies that provide for stable and timely funding and allow for local flexibility in program design. Although national strategies need to include support for police, they must address the problems that underlie crime (e.g., poverty, unemployment, and inadequate housing). Coordination within and between governments, as well as between government and the private sector is vital. National level departments must be prepared to provide technical assistance, support and guidance in research, and create data banks on crime control resources and research. Information on this research should be available to local officials and others involved in crime prevention and control.

FIGURE "F"

COMMUNITY POLICING
A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN
PUBLIC SERVICES

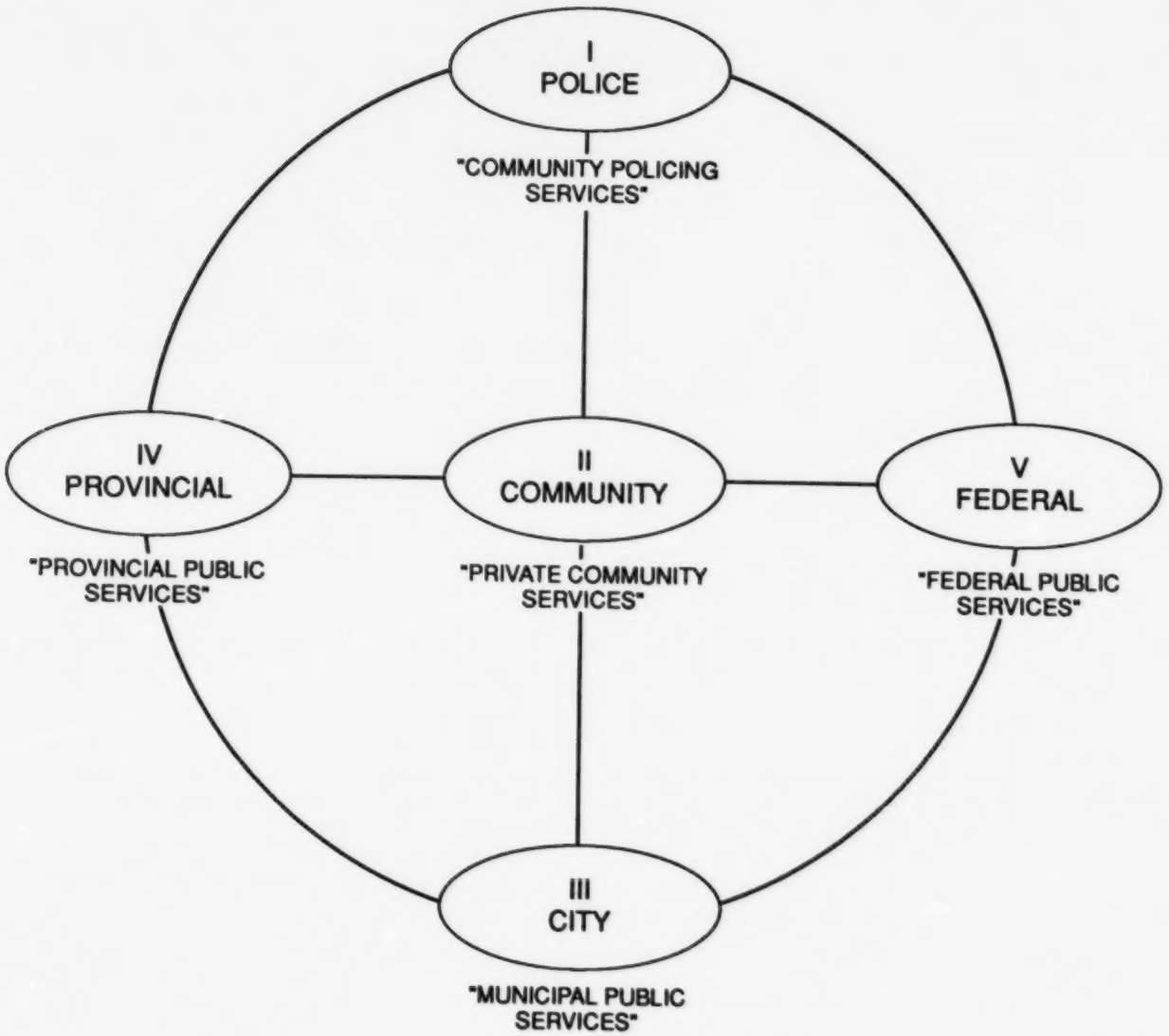


TABLE 9

COMMUNITY POLICING

A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC SERVICES

I. **COMMUNITY POLICING SERVICES**

- Consultative Committees: Citizens-Police
- Neighbourhood Watch
- Business Watch
- Victims Services
- Special Projects...

II. **PRIVATE COMMUNITY SERVICES**

- Families, Schools, Churches
- Work Place
- Leisure Milieu
- Media
- Associations
- Victims and Community Release Services
- Special Projects...

III. **MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SERVICES**

- Employment, Housing, Health
- Social Services
- Parks, Sports, Leisure
- Cultural Equipment (library, theatre...)
- Environmental Design
- Special Projects...

TABLE 9 (continued)

IV. **PROVINCIAL PUBLIC SERVICES**

- Employment, Housing, Health
- Social Services, Education
- Justice and Solicitor General
- Courts and Corrections
- Special Projects...

V. **FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICES**

- Employment, Housing, Health
- Family Allowances, Unemployment Insurance
- Justice and Solicitor General
- Courts and Corrections
- Special Projects...

5.3 A STRENGTHENED PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN JUSTICE SERVICES

Just as police forces need to interrelate with the public and public services, they must also establish ties with other police forces, other components of the criminal justice system, and government departments responsible for justice matters as shown in Table 10. Local police forces must cooperate with one another as offenders often do not confine their activities to one jurisdiction only. Hence, they must share information and services. There are also complex relationships between police forces because of the different tiers on which forces such as the RCMP, the Ontario and Quebec provincial police forces function. The RCMP, for example, serves mainly as a rural force in eight provinces, aside from its role as the federal police force. It also provides expertise and technical services to other police departments. Furthermore, the RCMP cooperates with INTERPOL in the areas of drug trafficking, money laundering, terrorism and international frauds.

The Canadian Police Information Computer (CPIC) system, which provides information on criminal records, and the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, which collects national police statistics, are other examples of national-level cooperation between police services. As well, the Federal/Provincial/Territorial Deputy Ministers Responsible for Justice and a recent off-shoot, the Deputy Ministers Responsible for Policing and Corrections, show a growing tendency for strategic partnerships between justice services.

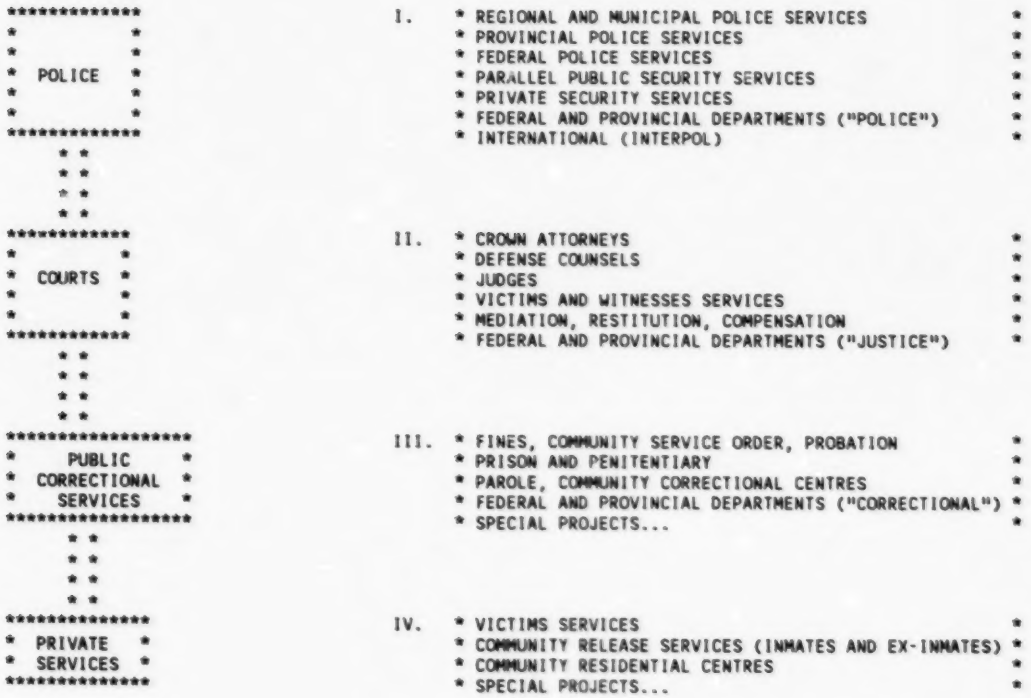
Also important is cooperation within the different sectors of the justice system. In this regard there is the National Joint Committee of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) and the Federal Correctional Services (NJC). The NJC is an advisory committee to the Federal Ministry of the Solicitor General on issues pertaining to policing and corrections. Its aim is to encourage the exchange of information and enhance cooperation among police, Crown Counsel, and correctional services throughout the country. To facilitate these tasks, a network of regional and district committees have been established across Canada. Membership includes: the CACP, the RCMP, the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), the National Parole Board (NPB), the Canadian Association of Crown Counsel, and the Secretariat of the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada. Regional and district committees also contain representatives from provincial agencies. NJC activities revolve around two major sets of issues: legislation and policies/programs. There is the concern, for example, that the flow of information occasionally breaks down between the correctional system and the police. Police officers are occasionally unaware that an individual they are confronted with is a dangerous fugitive, as no warrant is recorded in the CPIC system. Accordingly, CSC has proposed that it be allowed to issue warrants of apprehension in escape and unlawfully at large cases and they would ensure that the warrants are in the CPIC system.

One example of NJC's involvement in programs relates to the distribution of drugs into correctional institutions. Clearly, cooperation in this area is necessary not only among police forces at different levels, but between the police and those responsible for security within Canada's prisons. An initiative of NJC has been to have RCMP officers work directly with Correctional Services of Canada personnel. These types of initiatives underscore the importance of inter-agency communication and cooperation, as well as the fact that the police do not exist in a social vacuum. Once again, it is evident that police leaders must display communication skills, a cooperative attitude, accommodation, and adaptability to their environment.

TABLE 10

COMMUNITY POLICING

A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN POLICE AND JUSTICE SERVICES



I.
- REGIONAL AND MUNICIPAL POLICE SERVICES
- PROVINCIAL POLICE SERVICES
- FEDERAL POLICE SERVICES
- PARALLEL PUBLIC SECURITY SERVICES
- PRIVATE SECURITY SERVICES
- FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS ("POLICE")
- INTERNATIONAL (INTERPOL)

II.
- CROWN ATTORNEYS
- DEFENSE COUNSELS
- JUDGES
- VICTIMS AND WITNESSES SERVICES
- MEDIATION, RESTITUTION, COMPENSATION
- FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS ("JUSTICE")

III.
- FINES, COMMUNITY SERVICE ORDER, PROBATION
- PRISON AND PENITENTIARY
- PAROLE, COMMUNITY CORRECTIONAL CENTRES
- FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS ("CORRECTIONAL")
- SPECIAL PROJECTS...

IV.
- VICTIMS SERVICES
- COMMUNITY RELEASE SERVICES (INMATES AND EX-INMATES)
- COMMUNITY RESIDENTIAL CENTRES
- SPECIAL PROJECTS...

5.4 THE ROLE OF MINISTRIES AND POLICE COMMISSIONS

To fully understand the functioning of police forces in Canada, it is necessary to examine the role of local police boards or provincial police commissions. As of this writing, seven provinces have provincial police commissions and over 130 (approximately 30%) of municipal police forces have governing boards.

The first local police boards in Canada were established in Ontario in the middle of the last century. These municipal boards were responsible for appointing members to the police force, for regulating the work of the force, preventing abuse, and rendering the relevant force efficient in the discharge of its duties. The composition of these boards varied, but usually they contained a blend of municipal and provincial officials.

Over 38 different models of local police boards have been identified in Canada, so it is not possible to speak of typical boards. In some cases, members have all been appointed by provincial authorities; in other cases they have been chosen by or were all drawn from city council members. In still other cases they have been elected directly to office. There is also considerable variation in terms of their size, status, degree of autonomy, authority, powers, and functions. The following includes some of the functions of boards in Canada's largest cities: preparation and control of the police force budget, involvement in collective bargaining, establishment of rules and regulations, supervision over recruitment, promotions, and dismissals, approving general policy directions, public relations, and overseeing internal disciplinary matters and public complaints. The majority of local police boards handle only a few of these functions.

The evidence concerning the actual operation of local police boards suggests they are principally rubber-stamping organizations that lend credibility to the policies of the department. This is due to the fact that board membership tends to be of a part-time and short-term nature. Also, expertise of board members in policing is often lacking, as is clear definitions of board mandates, and the support staff needed for the board to play a more vigorous role. Further undermining the authority of municipal police boards is the idea that police departments should be independent of external manipulation (and with it the possibility of corruption) and should merely enforce the law of the land. The notion of police professionalism, too, undercuts the rationale of local police boards. The police chief, the argument goes, by virtue of his or her expertise in policing matters, is in the best position to determine the practices and control the conduct of personnel. Interference by those who know little about policing is equivalent to hospital boards telling surgeons how to operate. Also diminishing the influence of local police boards in recent years has been ascendance of provincial influence. Developments in most provinces in the '60s and '70s have established provincial regulations, uniform codes of discipline, and procedures for dealing with public complaints against the police. The new structures for ensuring that these regulations are enforced, the provincial police commissions, also monitor the performance of municipal police departments.

The provincial police commissions also provide technical and support services to municipal police forces. In some cases, they run provincial training facilities to wh h municipal forces have access. Typically, they can inspect local forces, monitor the adequacy of municipal policing services, and hold public inquiries into various aspects of these services. They can also serve to review cases dealing with internal disciplinary charges and public complaints against municipal police officers.

The emergence of provincial police commissions and greater provincial influence in setting standards for and monitoring local police forces raises some important questions in light of the current thrust toward community-based policing. Also relevant to community policing, has been the controversy over the accountability of police boards.

In terms of the first-mentioned issue, a tendency toward standardization and centralization of control over policing runs against the grain of vesting greater authority in each police department to establish its own priorities in conjunction with the community. The key is to strike a balance, avoiding excessive regulation that will stifle initiative at the local level and the proper exercise of discretion by individual officers, while, at the same time, ensuring that such discretion and local autonomy is not abused. This balance might be successfully achieved if provincial ministries and police commissions promote only the most fundamental values (e.g., departments should be free of corruption and treat visible minorities fairly) and leave the remaining responsibilities (e.g., agenda-setting, procedures and practices) to the individual departments.

With respect to the issue of the accountability of police boards, arguments have been raised to the effect that local boards should be elected (in Ontario, for example, the majority of board members are appointed by the provincial government). The argument against confining board membership to local officials is the intrusion of "politics" and undue influence of local politicians into policing. Such influence conjures up images of the subordination of the police to political processes. The counter argument is that provincial appointments are just as political and that favouritism, corruption, or other abuses can occur with respect to all municipal services, not simply in relation to policing. Certainly, if a community policing model is adopted in many localities, board members ought to be ultimately accountable to the local populations as opposed to the provincial government that has appointed them.

VI. STRATEGIC RESOURCES

The complexity of policing in the present day requires a multitude of resources, especially in light of growing demands on police services coupled with chronic fiscal constraints. Human resources are, of course, at the heart of any organization and their acquisition (via recruitment) and training are particularly crucial within the context of community policing. Resources drawn from the community, too, are at the core of policing within the community policing mode. This chapter also deals with specialized resources that complete a modern police department (e.g., legal, technological, and research resources).

6.1 HUMAN RESOURCES: POLICE RECRUITMENT

The recruitment of personnel is a key area if police agencies are to fulfil the emerging challenges in the years to come. The key issue to be resolved in relation to recruitment concerns the educational requirements of police personnel. Controversies abound about the benefits of higher education, its impact on policing, the best type of education for policing, and about the quality of existing educational programs.

When one examines the actual nature of police work, higher education begins to have some intuitive appeal. Officers have expansive powers and broad discretion in exercising their duties. Apart from fighting crime, they counsel, mediate, lead, refer, analyze, and process information. Given the increasing emphasis on these other tasks, as well as on problem solving, at the present time, it stands to reason that higher education will be still more important in the years to come.

The evidence from research suggests that the advantages of a college education outweigh the disadvantages. Many of the advantages would be particularly applicable to a community policing model. University educated officers have been found not only to perform their tasks better than their non-university counterparts, but they are better communicators as well. The officer with a higher education is more flexible in dealing with complex situations and with persons of diverse cultures, lifestyles, races, and ethnicity. College educated officers are more likely to regard policing as a career rather than as a job. They are more adaptable to change and are more responsive to different approaches to policing. They tend to appreciate the complexity of the criminal justice system as opposed to seeing the police more provincially as an exclusive group. Officers with higher education also tend to present their departments with fewer problems, including citizen complaints. Furthermore, they take more initiative than their non-university counterparts.

What is the down side of a college-educated force? Those with a higher education are more likely to leave their organizations or request reassignment. It has also been said that they are more likely to question orders than less-educated personnel. Given the movement away from organizations based on command and control and toward more egalitarian relationships within police departments, the last mentioned disadvantage may not be a disadvantage at all. This is not to support insubordination, but the notion that progressive departments in the years to come will realize that much can be

learned from the rank-and-file who are in daily contact with the community. Accepting regular input into policy from these officers will remove the necessity of behaving rebelliously.

Despite the advantages of a higher education, the decision about the educational requirements of a police force need not be an all or nothing proposition. A previous section of this report has discussed the tier model of police organization. This model does not require across-the-board college education for recruits. An organization adopting a tier model can accommodate those with a high school degree, although the tasks they would perform would be more straightforward. Those with a college degree would be rewarded by being recruited into higher tiers--these tiers would contain more challenging tasks and higher salary scales.

One objection advanced with respect to higher education requirements is that disadvantaged/minority groups having fewer college graduates would be at a disadvantage in recruitment. In Canada, employment equity programs for women and native people, as well as those of other racial/ethnic groups, will be vital with the changing demographic and cultural changes this country is undergoing. Careful evaluation needs to be done of the impact of educational requirements on the employability of groups such as native people and minorities, and how obstacles to their recruitment can be overcome.

It should be stressed that education cannot only be attained prior to recruitment but concurrently with employment. In a department that has adopted a tier model, attaining more credits may be one requirement of mobility from one tier to another.

It is important to note that obtaining college credits may not be as important, in preparing one for one's duties, as is the quality of that education. The courses offered by criminology and criminal justice programs have sometimes been of poor quality, offered frequently by part-time university staff, and often do not relate directly to the knowledge and skills police personnel will require. As such, it is recommended that such programs work together with local police departments in developing more relevant curricula.

Finally, there has been a trend in recent years toward the civilianization of police forces. It has been considered that many tasks, particularly of a clerical nature (although there are more specialized tasks as well--forensic sciences, accountants in economic crime units, etc.), can be better or at least more economically performed by civilian personnel. Record-keeping, for example, does not require police academy training or the salary of a first class constable. Thus, in optimizing resources, further attention should be given to civilianizing police forces. Such a trend cannot only be cost effective; it can also serve to connect a police department more closely to the community.

6.2 HUMAN RESOURCES: POLICE TRAINING

Police training is now seen to be a more complex subject than formerly thought. There are some dilemmas, different models of training, and different target groups within police forces requiring training and education.

There is both basic and ongoing training. Basic training at police academies has traditionally been oriented toward preparing cadets for the traditional duties of the constable. The goal was to turn cadets into generalists performing a diversity of functions, with a heavy emphasis placed on physical skills (e.g., the use of firearms), driving, learning the law, and some emphasis on human relations. If the tier model of police organizations discussed earlier is adopted, it could be that some aspects of basic training may have to be adapted to the different tiers or streams to which recruits will be admitted. Or, alternatively, as proposed earlier, all recruits up to those in senior management positions will undergo basic training but, depending on the tier an individual enters at, he/she may need to supplement this training with higher education.

There are four models of basic training in Canada.

The **first and most traditional model** is based upon the separation of police education and training from the adult educational mainstream. It generally involves recruiting entrants who have completed their high school diplomas and providing training and in-service courses at separate and independent centres (e.g., the RCMP at Regina and the Ontario Police College at Aylmer, or police academies in major cities where there is no provincial institute--e.g., Winnipeg, Calgary, and Edmonton).

The **second model** is similar to the first with the exception that the actual training activities take place on a university campus. Academic staff teach courses on such matters as criminal justice and social services, while police staff provide an orientation to police administration and procedures. Lawyers and judges lecture on criminal law, evidence, and procedure. This second model is practised at the Saskatchewan Police College which operates on the University of Regina campus and by the Atlantic Police Academy at Holland College in Prince Edward Island.

The **third model** is based on the assumption that trainees should be exposed to the workings of the entire criminal justice system, rather than regard police work as isolated from other components of the system. The idea is that police and correctional personnel can learn from one another. As such, at the Justice Institute of British Columbia, educational and training facilities exist for probation officers, institutional personnel, and court staff alongside those serving future police officers.

The **fourth model** attempts to fully integrate police training with the adult educational mainstream. According to this scheme, which at present is only practised in Quebec, candidates first enrol in a provincially organized two and one half year community college program which combines courses in criminology, law, and policing with those of a more general nature (e.g., mathematics and philosophy).

Selected candidates then complete their training with a 10 week course at the Quebec Police Institute in Nicolet. This model is advantageous in that it ensures recruits will possess some higher education and control is exercised over the quality and content of that education.

Ongoing training assumes that learning is a continuous process and that the social, legal, and cultural environment changes, so that basic training is insufficient for the duration of a career. Personnel must be sensitized and informed about such issues as sexual assault, drug abuse, economic crimes, computer crimes, and the treatment of visible minorities. These are just some of the issues with a changing character in the last few years. Ongoing training is also necessary when an individual wishes to upgrade his or her skills in anticipation of promotion. With a tier model of organization in place, such upgrading would be necessary as one moved from one tier to another. It has been recommended that ongoing training be regarded much as development in the private sector and that between one and two % of police annual budgets be allocated to this important function.

Advanced or specialized training takes place at several centres. The Canadian Police College in Ottawa offers courses, workshops, and conferences in specialized areas (e.g., fingerprinting, crime analysis, and computer technology) and for managers. They have expressed an interest in expanding their role of training senior executives by developing a centre of excellence. Such a centre would provide a comprehensive program for top management through the establishment of stronger links with such management development centres as the Canadian Centre for Management Development in Ottawa, the National Defence Management School in Kingston, and the FBI's National Executive Institute.

The Canadian Centre for Management Development provides training for middle and top managers working for the federal government. The Department of National Defence provides training for senior executives in Kingston for the armed forces, civilians, and business people. The FBI's National Executive Institute provides, three weeks per year (each cycle lasts one week), lectures and sessions on a variety of topics, ranging from terrorism and leadership styles to the media and executive stress. Canadian police executives have participated in these sessions.

"Operation Bootstraps" was established in the United States by the International Association of Chiefs of Police. In this program, some of the largest corporations admit police personnel to attend executive educational courses. The subjects taught include such things as effective supervision, conflict resolution, group problem solving and stress management. For example, in Toronto, IBM invited 22 police chiefs to seminars on problem solving, simulation exercises, and creative thinking. Police executives benefit from such exposure to the corporate world as they realize that organizations in many different fields share similar problems. They can therefore apply some ideas to which they have been exposed to their own departments. Such involvements bring police managers in closer contact with the world outside policing, reducing their sense of isolation.

There is also the Niagara Institute, a non-profit, private organization that seeks to develop the quality of leadership in all sectors of Canadian society. The Institute offers highly intensive courses ranging in duration from one day to two weeks. Subjects covered include leadership, communications strategy, issues management, and the management of change.

Thus, there are many models to choose from in executive or other specialized training. There are also university courses and programs that executives can attend. Or, a custom-built program can be designed to meet the needs of a particular police force. A further possibility would be the creation of exchange programs among training institutes and police departments that could extend inter-provincially and even internationally. Another learning tool is the use of computer simulations to model decision-making processes.

6.3 HUMAN RESOURCES: POLICE CAREER

The traditional police organization, as already mentioned, has adopted a militaristic structure into which new recruits enter at the bottom and aspire to work their way up the hierarchy. In this model many, by virtue of seniority, reach levels that may be beyond their competence; or, at least, levels at which they lack the preparation and perhaps ability to be creative. At this point they reach their career "plateau" and may stagnate for years thereafter. A plateau can be reached, of course, not only because of personal limitations but because limited budgets and organizational expansion make it virtually impossible for an individual to be promoted to a higher level. Another scenario is that of the individual who aspires to reaching higher levels within the organization but finds many obstacles along the way and is severely disappointed by his or her inability to achieve what he/she set out to accomplish. Since people in traditional police organizations follow one basic stream, there is no predictability at all in terms of where they may end up. Such ambiguity can be the source of considerable stress and dissatisfaction.

In the tier model already presented in this report, there is more structure and predictability in the general role one will play in a force. One who enters a force as a regular constable cannot aspire to become chief, unless that person upgrades his/her education and fulfils other requirements in addition to those on the job. With the development of a multi-tiered organization, one cannot as easily set oneself up for bitter disappointments as unrealistic expectations are not encouraged. If one does move from one tier to another, one's skills must first be upgraded, thereby ensuring that one does not come ill-equipped to a position and then stagnate.

Police officers are said to have among the highest levels of stress. Some aspects of the job that have been said to produce stress and burnout include the need to be constantly vigilant, the frequent encounters with hostile and negative citizens, the stress of responding to crimes and emergencies, the lack of control over the job (i.e., bureaucratic interference), the socially isolating effect of police work, and the impact of the job and its scheduling on family life. Although job-related stress is not confined to police personnel, such personnel have an uncommon amount of stress-related symptoms and consequences (e.g., substance abuse, nervousness, anger, depression and marital disharmony).

Some police organizations, such as that of the Montreal Urban Community Police have established programs to deal with these symptoms and consequences of stress. The Montreal program provides evaluations, professional counselling, and referrals to health and social services for police personnel and their families. A special emphasis is placed on drug, alcohol and family problems.

Although such initiatives are desirable, more fundamental structural and functional changes in police organizations and police work may provide the best medicine for stress and burnout. Many elements of community policing would appear to have the potential for alleviating some of these problems. Community Police Officers, for example, would interact more intensively with the public: the result of this would be reduced social isolation. Getting police officers out of their cars and on foot and bicycle patrol, wherever possible, would have a similar effect. Closer ties with the community may well enhance the public's satisfaction with the police and diminish the need of the latter to associate only with other police personnel outside of work. Community policing provides some officers, at least, the opportunity to be more creative on their jobs and affords them increased authority to make decisions. The current bureaucratization of police works and emphasis on command-and-control minimizes job satisfaction and a sense of control over their work on the part of officers. Positive indicators of performance, such as community satisfaction and harmony, are more conducive to motivating officers than are negative measures such as number of arrests. Thus, a change in the orientation of policing and the introduction of a tier system has the potential for enriching police work in a substantial way. Such basic changes are more likely to reduce stress and dissatisfaction than are programs, as valuable as they may be, that are merely superimposed upon existing structures.

6.4 FINANCIAL RESOURCES

As indicated in Chapter 1, the cost of public policing across Canada is in the range of five billion dollars per year. The number of police personnel across the country increased substantially from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s, but from that point to the present has levelled off. For a number of years now, the realization has set in that fiscal constraint will be an ongoing reality. The principle of police administrators, therefore, is to accomplish more and better with less or the same. Of course, it must be recognized that police departments cannot continue to have their budgets cut while at the same time improving services. The principle of a lean department needs to be applied to equipment (e.g., patrol cars, computers) as well as to human resources.

One way to do more with less involves the recognition that the responsibility for the diversity of tasks performed by police services can be distributed across a variety of sectors. Private security personnel continue to grow at a rapid pace and outnumber, by at least two to one, the number of public police personnel. Civilianization is another trend which can make policing more cost effective. There are parallel public services responsible for regulating and enforcing a number of areas (e.g., fishing and hunting licensing). There is also parallel public safety. In Montreal, for example, several affluent residential areas have established their own security forces to patrol their streets in response to the regionalization of the Montreal's police force--this regionalization shifted manpower from these areas to more congested, high-crime neighborhoods. Thus, one way public police forces can continue to

provide the services asked of them is to allow these other sectors to take responsibility for a larger piece of the total policing pie.

The tier model of police organization may also help balance budgets, as there is no real need to have a first class constable, making in the vicinity of $47,000 per year, respond to accidents, perform traffic duties, and the like. One issue that needs to be addressed with the growing emphasis upon community policing is whether police resources will be spread even more thinly than at the present. If citizens have a major role in setting police agendas and police officers are allowed greater authority, how will administrators maintain control of financial resources? Problem-solving in the community will, in some contexts, involve deeper participation by officers in issues that the police may have largely ignored, or only superficially addressed, in the past. Will resources still be as available to perform traditional crime-fighting duties? These are certainly legitimate questions.

The argument for community policing, from a fiscal point of view, is that, first of all, there will be less of an accent on costly hardware, such as motor vehicles and computer as well as other technologies. Regionalization of costly equipment and personnel, at least, (e.g., laboratories and technicians) can also be helpful. Moreover, the ultimate goal of community policing is to shift some of the responsibility for policing back to the community; that is, to fully exploit the resources already present in the community. Public police departments, according to this vision, can play the role of broker, consultant, and coordinator of community initiatives to deal with crime and other social problems. Self-regulation by the community, according to this view, is stressed wherever possible. This is in diametric opposition to the assumptions underlying the idea of professional policing (at least as professionalism was construed traditionally), whereby police forces were seen as providing specialized services for a passive public.

6.5. LEGAL RESOURCES

Policing is becoming progressively more complex in a variety of ways. One of these ways is the legal domain. The law of criminal responsibility has traditionally been the main area of interest to the police officer charged with the responsibility of enforcing the law. Basic training in criminal law and procedure, coupled with the availability of advice and guidance from their natural partners, the Crown Attorneys, had been enough. One question for the future is whether this training still suffices.

Increasingly, the focus of many legal proceedings is on the way in which police have carried out their investigations. In case after case, the conduct of individual police officers is being scrutinized in the criminal courts. Attacking the police, is becoming one of the more common defences of accused persons. The interest of the prosecutor in such cases lies in the effect the scrutiny will have on the outcome of the main proceedings. This may not coincide with the interests of either the individual police officers or the police agency. It may be desirable for police to have access to independent legal advice.

The need to have legal resources available to assist in the development of appropriate operating procedures is also becoming increasingly vital. Complex and costly investigations may be for nought if legally acceptable procedures have not been followed. Finally, the police legal advisor has a crucial policy development role. In making decisions as to how scarce resources should be allocated, the current state of the law as applicable to the available options needs to be reassessed. More significantly, legal resources are needed to help identify responses to particular challenges and to determine what relevant supporting information should be gathered. This, of course, is all with a view to ensuring a solution which serves the needs of effective law enforcement while maintaining the values enshrined in our Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Rather than continuing to rely on the Crown Attorneys, in the future, it would not be surprising that larger police organizations will have full-time lawyers, either legally trained-members or civilian lawyers. These specialized lawyers could be consulted on an ongoing basis when the minutiae of operational procedures are explored and developed. Continuous substantive and procedural changes in the law and their implications for policing may entail continuous monitoring by a specialized staff.

6.6 TECHNOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Modern-day policing involves the application of advanced technologies in a number of areas. First, there is the area of criminalistics, the ultimate goal of which is to identify offenders and furnish evidence in relation to criminal cases. Included here are the realms of fingerprinting (including the nascent technology of DNA fingerprinting) and ballistics.

A second area of specialization in the police sciences is the development of both lethal and non-lethal weapons for police officers. Also relevant in this vein is the development of defensive products and materials such as bullet-proof vests.

The increased mobility of police services over the years entails the application of state-of-the-art communications systems. The ability to communicate via radio channels is vital in carrying out many different types of operations. Dispatchers must be able to communicate with the field and patrol cars must be able to communicate with one another. Furthermore, communications systems permit the monitoring of the whereabouts of patrol vehicles and even foot or bicycle patrols at any given time.

The fourth area of technological development in recent years has been that of information technology. Over the past two decades, there has been a progressive transformation from the use of paper files and notebooks to the use of electronic systems. Improved hardware and software have made it possible to store voluminous amounts of information and to retrieve it rapidly. The electronic revolution also permits access to large data bases such as the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) system.

More specifically, information technology can be applied in a number of areas. Computer-aided dispatch systems help coordinate the delivery of emergency services. Information systems also facilitate the investigation of criminal cases through their ability to store and allow rapid access to large amounts of information on crime incidents. Given that a fair amount of criminal activity is inter-jurisdictional, these electronic management systems allow for easy information-sharing among different police departments. Computerized information systems can also facilitate considerably the analysis of crime data, aiding in the identification of the patterns of select crimes and thereby assisting in the development of appropriate preventive strategies. These systems, furthermore, foster accountability by enhancing a department's capability of recording the particulars relating to police actions and the resources deployed to deal with a specific problem.

Many of the advances in police technologies are provided by the private sector. These advances are often promoted actively at conferences and in police publications. In Canada, there is also an institute, the Canadian Police Research Centre, which is jointly directed by the National Research Council, the RCMP, and the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police. This Centre is an extension of an existing program which made headway in such areas as the development of robots to defuse bombs, the detection of drugs, and the development of better protective gear for police officers.

Society-wide technological advances have also contributed to the necessity of high-tech in dealing with crime as new forms of criminal activity have emerged (e.g., economic and computer crimes). That the police must keep abreast of technological developments in the domains discussed above goes without saying. The question is the emphasis that technology should be accorded in the police force of the future.

In answering this question, two dimensions must be considered: the ethical and practical. From an ethical point of view, the availability of technologies that allow for the storage of more information on individuals, better surveillance and identification, superior weaponry, and the like must be tempered by the potential dangers of such advances. Certainly all applications of technology must be done in accordance with relevant legislation and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

From a practical standpoint, an obsession with technology may divert attention from those areas in which getting back to basics may be a better means of achieving objectives. If community-based policing is the model for the future, public satisfaction will be among the most important goals of police forces. Such satisfaction will be achieved primarily through human contact rather than technology. Even as far as the solution of crime is concerned, the evidence suggests that information provided by the public is more valuable than forensic science, innovative investigative techniques, and rapid response. Therefore, police departments should be circumspect about the areas in which and extent to which an emphasis on technological development should be maintained.

6.7 RESEARCH RESOURCES

Traditionally, police policies and practices have largely been based on the experience and expertise of senior executives. The cornerstone of professional policing has been such practices as motorized preventive patrol and rapid response. These practices were adopted because they had intuitive appeal. In the 1970s, research, particularly that conducted in the United States, began to empirically examine some of the critical assumptions underlying conventional police procedures. Experiments, such as that conducted in Kansas City, pointed to the limitations of preventive patrol in either reducing serious crime or alleviating public fear.

The body of research that has ensued has not only shed light upon the success of various strategies in law enforcement, but also has indicated what police actually do. Research has revealed that the exercise of police discretion is pervasive, that most of the time spent by police officers is not crime-related, and that police work is highly dependent upon citizen calls and cooperation. Investigations have also indicated that reducing response time will not have a major impact upon the solution of crimes and that criminal investigations are not very effective in solving crimes.

There is a need for ongoing research in the aforementioned and other areas. If more of an interactive, community policing model is to be adopted, systematic research needs to be done to gauge public expectations in relation to the police. Surveys and other approaches can be employed in this context. Strategic planning requires systematic procedures to scan the environment (e.g., crime trends, demographic changes, socioeconomic trends, etc.). Although different departments may perform their individual strategic planning, basic research is needed in those aspects of the environment that affect entire regions or the country as a whole. Other basic policy issues, such as the question of establishing mini-police stations in larger cities, require major experimental initiatives.

Applied research with broad implications, sometimes requiring the collaboration of several cities and/or departments, requires some organizing body or institute that specializes in police research. The Canadian police research is disjointed and, therefore, it is recommended here that some form of research centre or institute be established to deal with the larger issues that pertain to most police forces. Currently, as already discussed, technical research (e.g., bomb detonation, fingerprinting, etc.) is conducted under the auspices of the Canadian Police Research Centre, which is a joint venture of the National Research Council, the RCMP, and the Canadian Association of the Chiefs of Police.

A research facility is needed to complement these more technical initiatives to examine police agendas, novel approaches to policing, different performance measures, and other questions that have relevance to all departments. Before elaborating on the proposal advanced herein, it is useful to look at the structures existing in other countries.

In the United States, there is the prestigious Police Foundation, which was founded by the Ford Foundation in 1970. The Police Foundation is an independent, non-partisan organization which works with police forces throughout the United States, devising new police strategies and putting

them to the test in practical field situations. Along with the research in which it is involved, the Police Foundation disseminates its findings widely in the law enforcement community. The Foundation not only helps pioneer new ways of dealing with such issues as domestic violence and drug-related crime, but conducts workshops for police forces and conducts evaluative and other studies on behalf of different departments. Funding stems from the Ford Foundation, fund-raising efforts, and contracts with governmental and law enforcement agencies.

Another American organization actively involved in research and information dissemination on policing is the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF). PERF is a national professional association of chief executives of the largest city, county, and state law enforcement agencies. PERF, like the Police Foundation, has on its staff full-time professionals with extensive backgrounds in policing, research, and management. The organization is involved in innovative studies, political lobbying, and serves as a clearinghouse for information on law enforcement. Various bulletins are published annually and a computer network linking members has been established to allow police executives to communicate electronically with one another, access information, and participate in various conferences. PERF is funded by federal government departments, private sector corporations and foundations, and generates funds through performing management consulting services.

In contrast to these largely private initiatives in the United States, the primary organizations involved in research and its dissemination in France and England are funded and controlled by the national government. In France there is L'Institut des Hautes Etudes de la Sécurité Intérieure (IHESI), which receives its funding from the national government. IHESI joins together officials from the national police, national and territorial governments, academies, and researchers concerned with a wide range of security matters. The focus is multi-disciplinary and is aimed at both conducting and stimulating research on issues of topical interest.

In England, within the Home Office, there is a research unit which for years has carried out highly visible criminological research both of an applied and basic nature, often in collaboration with universities. Areas of particular interest have been crime prevention and national crime surveys. The research unit is primarily made up of specialists in criminology. The work of the unit has been widely published and disseminated.

The question is whether Canada needs a research unit of its own and, if so, what model should it adopt? Research is currently fragmented, taking place in university departments, at the Canadian Police College, and within or under contract with the Federal Ministry of the Solicitor General or the Department of Justice. Provincial governments, too, contribute modestly to police research in Canada. It is recommended here that an autonomous "Canadian Police Research Institute" be created by 1992 with about one million dollars in initial funds. This money could come from federal and provincial ministries of the Solicitors General and/or Justice, as well as private sources. Perhaps, over the years, progressively larger sums could be raised through private sources, ensuring greater autonomy of such an institute. The institute could recruit qualified staff (perhaps with a mix of police, research and managerial experience) and conduct research, disseminate its findings, and organize conferences. The institute could establish ties with university scholars, government

personnel, and both private and public police organizations. It could also establish international contacts with IHESI, the Home Office, the Police Foundation, PERF and so on, bringing in speakers and sharing information with these other centres of research. Ties could also be established with the Canadian Police Research Centre, the Canadian Police College, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, the Canadian Police Association and the research units within larger city police departments (Montreal, Toronto, etc.) as well as with the eight centres of criminology linked to canadian universities. Collaborative research could be undertaken with these other centres and colloquia could be jointly organized. In consultation with the research units of the larger police departments, field experiments could be conducted in order to test innovative strategies. Such an institute would be beneficial to Canada because the findings stemming from applied research conducted in other countries may not be applicable here, due to the social and cultural uniqueness of Canada. As an alternative to an autonomous institute, a better identified and financed research unit within the Canadian Police College could be established. The College could act as clearinghouse, facilitate networking, and information dissemination.

6.8 COMMUNITY RESOURCES

It is now widely recognized that all police functions, whether they are responding to crime and apprehending criminals or engaging in crime prevention, involve members of the community. Considerable evidence shows that the solution of criminal cases is dependent on the actions of ordinary citizens, from the initial detection of crime and the decision to report it (as well as the speed with which it is reported) to the gathering of evidence and prosecution of a case. Crime prevention, too, increasingly is being seen as a community-wide endeavour, rather than the exclusive domain of a professional police department. As such, community resources must be actively marshalled in order to enhance and optimize the work of a police department.

The most important resource within the community is the public itself. People must be encouraged to be vigilant, to report crimes and other suspicious activities, and to serve as witnesses. A police department can also stimulate the public to get involved in preventive activities of all kinds. Such activities can include anything from securing one's home to participate in neighbourhood watch and patrol programs. Prevention, of course, is not only a defensive activity. Good parenting, involvement with young people, and the promotion of pro-social values provide the best assurances of a harmonious community. Within a community policing approach, the public can also be involved in setting the police agenda. Neighbourhood groups and institutions (e.g., Canadian Legion, churches, schools) can also have a significant impact upon the direction and shape of a community.

The business community can be an important asset in dealing with crime and other social problems. Businesses have a significant role to play in minimizing their vulnerability to crimes such as burglary, robbery, and embezzlement. They can hire those from disadvantaged backgrounds as well as those

with criminal records. Perhaps most importantly, businesses help set community standards for behaviour. If they merely exploit people and other community resources, they promote only the virtues of self-interest. If they show an allegiance to the community rather than simply their shareholders, others, hopefully, will follow suit.

The media has an important role to play as the public's primary source of information about crime and related issues. The media can educate people about crime and promote social values. They can, through publicity campaigns, also promote given preventive programs. These campaigns can both mobilize community involvement and deter potential transgressors.

Community agencies, too, have a major role to play. As discussed in Chapter 5.2, crime prevention through social development embraces a diverse array of community organizations. Public health departments and housing can ensure that minimum living standards and levels of hygiene are maintained. Employment services can assist those who may have difficulty obtaining employment or who have limited job skills. Social and mental health agencies can provide needed intervention into individual and family situations before irreversible problems are created.

VII. SOME IMPORTANT CHALLENGES

There are some issues that will pose a particular challenge to police departments in the years to come. First there are Canada's aboriginal people. One key issue is whether they police themselves on the reserve or whether existing police services become more sensitive to their particular situation.

Canada is also experiencing changes in terms of its ethnic and racial composition. Police services will need to be more sensitive to different cultures and recruit more visible minorities to reflect Canada's changing population.

The international movement in victim rights has been under way for over a decade. Police personnel must exercise caution to avoid victimizing victims a second time when victims come forward about an offence. This form of secondary victimization, in which victims are often made to feel that they are blameworthy for the offence, has been particularly common with respect to victims of sexual assault and domestic violence.

The international drug traffic also poses numerous challenges. Society must decide whether the emphasis, in terms of prevention, should be on suppressing the traffic itself or on curtailing demand. Police services must be prepared to interact with other agencies both in Canada and abroad.

A final issue to be discussed in this chapter is the impact of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms on policing in Canada. Although police departments might view some of the provisions of the Charter as a hindrance to law enforcement, they can also view it as a challenge to successfully pursue their objectives while protecting the civil liberties of Canadians. Just as they see themselves, at least partly, as enforcers of the law, police officers and other personnel can see themselves as protectors of the Charter.

7.1 POLICING AND ABORIGINALS

The aboriginal population of Canada is comprised of four main groups: status Indians; non-status Indians; Metis; and, Inuit. In the 1986 Census, 711,120 individuals reported some aboriginal ancestry including: 263,230 status Indians; 23,465 Inuit; and 415,030 other. Approximately two-thirds of the status Indians live on 2,200 reserves, organized into 604 Bands, with most reserves located in rural and isolated areas. While there are a number of rural Metis communities, most Metis and non-status Indians reside in semi-urban and urban areas.

One cannot speak of a single aboriginal community. The aboriginal people of Canada exhibit considerable diversity in terms of such matters as culture, spirituality, religion, custom, language, socio-economic and political development. At the same time, there are shared problems in such areas as poverty, unemployment, under employment, substance abuse, limited economic resources, under funded social services, and meagre recreational facilities.

It is apparent that the public's view of the treatment of aboriginals is changing. An Angus Reid poll conducted in October 1987 found that 51 % of Canadians surveyed believed that aboriginal people were not treated fairly by the courts and justice system, while 39 % disagreed, with some 10 % undecided. A similar poll in February 1990, showed that 57 % agreed that "native people in Canada are treated unfairly by our courts and justice system", with 29 % disagreeing.

The report of the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall, Jr. prosecution (1990) stated that the criminal justice system failed Donald Marshall, Jr. in part at least because he was a native. Two other judicial inquiries have heard recently allegations of racism, discrimination and insensitivity:

a) policing and the Blood Reserve (Alberta, 1990); and
b) policing and the cases of J.J. Harper and H.B. Osborne (Manitoba, 1990).

These incidents have occurred in the context of a consistent pattern of over-representation of aboriginals in Canada correctional institutions. Aboriginal people constitute approximately 3 % of the total Canadian population. In 1987-88, 11 % of the admissions to federal correctional facilities were self-identified as aboriginals. In the western jurisdiction, the percentage of aboriginal admissions to provincial correctional facilities range from a low of 19 % in British Columbia to a high of 66 % in Saskatchewan.

On the basis of current understanding of the broader issue, there would appear to be three types of problems relating to the administration of justice in general, and policing in particular; namely:

1) equity of treatment (i.e. the extent to which the component parts of the criminal justice system treat aboriginals justly and fairly in accordance with the fundamental principles underlying our criminal justice system);

2) equality of service (i.e. access to justice services, including policing by aboriginal communities, that corresponds to acceptable norms and standards);

3) over-representation (i.e. the disproportionate representation of aboriginals in the correctional system).

It is clear that improved policing services for aboriginals can, and should address the equity of treatment and the equality of service problems. Aboriginal people have a right to expect fair, just and impartial treatment, and the appropriate protection afforded by policing and law enforcement services. It is arguable whether improved policing services will significantly affect the over-representation problem, if this problem is primarily attributable to factors external to the criminal justice system such as poverty, unemployment and the health of the social/institutional support arrangements in aboriginal communities.

Having identified the key problems related to the administration of justice and aboriginal people, and situated policing within the context of these problems, it remains to discuss the implications of current pressures and governmental policies on the development of policing arrangements for aboriginal people over the next decade.

Essentially, there are two parts to the issue of policing arrangements for aboriginal people, the first relating to the off-reserve situation and the second relating to the on-reserve situation.

There are ten urban centres in Canada where the aboriginal population consists of 5,000+. In addition, there are a number of smaller urban centres where the aboriginal population, largely non-status Indians and Metis, account for a significant proportion of the local population. In this circumstance, the issues connected to policing for the aboriginal population are not dissimilar to other segments of the non-white population. Such initiatives as enhanced recruitment, cross-cultural training, and the development consultative and advisory bodies show promise in providing a more effective policing service, one that is more accepted and responsive to the aboriginal community.

The on-reserve Indian communities and other aboriginal communities that are entitled to pursue community self-government negotiations present a different range of issues and associated options. Programs to improve the policing services provided to Indian communities began in earnest in the early 1970's. Currently, under a variety of policing arrangements there are approximately some 700 Indian officers employed in a "policing" or "para-policing" role on Indian reserves. On a per capita basis, this represents a ratio of one officer per 370 persons on reserves. In certain respects, this ratio compares favourably with the national average of approximately 1 police officer per 488 persons. It is understood, however, that police workload on Indian reserves is appreciably higher than the national average.

There are a number of broad policy issues to be addressed concerning policing arrangements for Indian communities over the next decade including:

- the establishment of appropriate legislation;
- the management and control of policing; and
- funding arrangements.

Given the current thrust of governmental policy, the following optional policing arrangements will likely be made available to Indian communities over the next decade:

1) <u>An Indian Government Administered Police Service</u>

This policing arrangement would see Indian governments having "local" government type responsibilities for administering the police service. The police service itself would likely be largely composed of Indian officers.

This policing arrangement could be organized on a band, regional, or provincial/territorial basis and range in size from an individual officer to a moderate sized police service depending on the size of the Indian community and the nature of the self-government proposal.

2) An Indian Contingent Within an Existing Police Service

a) Under this arrangement, Indian police officers would be employed within an existing police service (i.e. the RCMP, OPP, QPP or a municipal police service where they are adjacent to the reserve) with dedicated responsibilities to police Indian communities.

This arrangement would likely see Indian governments having somewhat less than local government type responsibilities for administering the police service, although Indian input could be provided through the establishment of advisory/consultative bodies under appropriate terms of reference.

b) In certain circumstances (i.e. larger reserves or in an arrangement incorporating several small reserves) contractual arrangements, similar to those entered into by some municipalities for the RCMP or OPP could be made available. Such a contractual arrangement could be cast as a "developmental policing arrangement" which could evolve over time into an Indian government administered police service once the appropriate level of expertise and experience has been acquired.

3) Development Policing Arrangement

Under this arrangement, the responsibility for the administration of the policing service would move over time from joint (i.e. Indian and non-Indian) administration to an Indian government administered police service.

Similarly the composition of the police service would move over time to a body of Indian police officers.

4) Enhancement of Non-Indian Policing Services

The arrangements outlined above would not be practical for many of the smaller communities. In such cases, enhanced policing arrangements could be provided through the establishment of police consultative/advisory bodies, and arrangements provided in agreements to enforce laws enacted under self-government.

These developments will require policy decisions related to a range of service delivery issues including:

- mechanisms to ensure police accountability and independence;

- cost shared arrangements and mechanisms of financial accountability;
- accessibility to optional policing arrangements that take into account matters relating to police effectiveness and efficiency;
- quality and level of service matters;
- role and jurisdiction of Indian police officers;
- mechanisms of cooperation and support;
- employment equity and affirmation action programs; and
- implementation considerations.

If community policing is to become the basic police philosophy for the end of this century, policing for Aboriginals is surely moving ahead in this perspective and context.

7.2 POLICING AND MULTICULTURALISM

A) Does A Multicultural and Multiracial Canada Warrant Special Initiatives in Policing?

Canadian society is rapidly becoming more racially, culturally and religiously diverse. How will Canadians perceive and react to this increased diversity?

A recent Environics poll concluded that 17 % of Canadians were bigots - a disturbing snapshot. Even more disturbing was another finding from the same poll stating that about half the population was becoming increasingly concerned about the growing number of visible minority Canadians in this country. The implication was that a very large number of Canadians were uncomfortable, or even distressed, with the prospect that the population of Canada was changing in a way that they did not like.

Surprise is often the emotion used to describe our reaction to this seemingly intolerant reaction of our fellow citizens. Should we be surprised?... probably not. We should be disturbed and concerned and perhaps appalled. The controversy that raged over changes to the RCMP uniform demonstrated quite clearly the feelings of many Canadians toward changes associated with full acceptance of a multicultural and multiracial society. The 1989 Annual Report of the Canadian Human Rights Commission stated that, "...the demons of racist and cultural prejudice have never been either officially or unofficially exorcized from Canadian Society".

Recognition of Canada's officially espoused and truly diverse nature has been slow in coming and, as yet, has left many living outside large urban centres unaware. As recognition of our diversity grows, as it will, how will Canadians react and what will be the implications for policing as one of the most, if not the most, critically placed services to the public?

The Canadian Human Rights Commission, in its 1989 Annual Report, suggests that, within the next two decades, 20 % of the populations in major Canadian cities will consist of non-white minorities. This reference is included in a section of the report entitled Opportunities for Racism. Logic would tell us that, if a certain percentage of the population are racial bigots, an increase in the number of visible minority Canadians will increase the opportunities for racism. How this intolerance will manifest itself is open to interpretation.

Interpreting the poll results cited above, one commentator suggested that there was little that could change the attitude of hard-core bigots, rather we could only hope to control their behaviour. More importantly, preventative action was recommended to keep the large population that is uncomfortable, but not yet bigoted, in their reaction to racial and cultural diversity, from becoming increasingly intolerant.

This has substantial implications for police, now and in the future, institutionally and individually; in the ways in which policing authorities deal with themselves and the public. Even with the most optimistic view, it is safe to say that police, individually and institutionally will be called upon to deal with the obvious and subtle, external and internal manifestations of prejudicial behaviour.

It achieves little to speculate on how far behind or ahead of the general public police are in addressing these implications. A lot of isolated efforts at police training and recruitment have born fruit in the last several years. But the Marshall, Bellemare and Lewis reports, numerous other enquiries, conferences and consultations have shown clearly how much more needs to be done; and how much policing authorities can learn from each others' experience.

A multicultural and multiracial Canada requires special initiatives in policing, not because a current crisis has suddenly come upon us, but rather because, consciously or not, so little has been done in the past. To provide effective policing services to all Canadians, we need to redress the inadequacies so poignantly cited in referenced enquiry reports. We need to do well the things that we would need to do anyway, but ensure that we do them well within a multicultural context.

Effective policing in any society, including one that is multi-racial and multi-cultural must be receptive, responsive and representative of the community it serves. Receptive to learning more about the special nature and changing circumstances affecting the community, and by extension its police. Responsive to the individual and collective needs of the community. Representative of the community in terms of the people who provide the policing services and the broader societal values of equity and justice and fairness.

Community policing is, in effect, a preventative approach to policing that builds a relationship between the community and the police. It prepares them to anticipate and deal effectively with problems when they do arise. Better community-based policing contributes to increased interaction, understanding and tolerance - contributes to stronger relationships and to racial harmony.

Effective community liaison is not only something that you do, but something that you achieve on a day to day and continuing basis. The only way to achieve success is to have the right tools. The only way to determine the extent of achievement is to ask the community.

Most often cited as the essential tools are recruitment, training, internal discipline, public accountability, and, as an essential ingredient to all, institutional will. As with most social issues each of these elements comes with its own set of questions and concerns.

B) Recruitment - Is Representation Important?

Representation of visible minority persons on Canadian police forces is much below levels of representation in the general population, especially in large urban settings. Experience tells us that recruitment of under-represented groups is difficult. It has also been stated there are no guarantees that visible minority personnel will be more effective in doing the job or substantially influencing institutional change.

One response to these challenges is that representation is important for equity reasons. Secondly, gradual success is being experienced in recruitment and more innovative programs are being developed to interest young people in policing before they make other career choices. Thirdly, an organizational philosophy that includes a will to change has to exist before substantial change can take place.

One fundamental way to initiate and sustain that change is to ensure that the police force genuinely reflects the interests and faces of the population it serves. It would seem difficult to provide effective policing services to, and draw recruits from, a community that cannot see its membership represented among the police. Representativeness can best be pursued, supported and sustained if it applies to all aspects of police organizations - officers, civilians, boards and commissions.

C) Will Employment Equity Lower Standards, Affect Morale, Receive Support from Police Associations, Work Best If Compulsory?

The answers to the questions are:

No, probably, yes and hard to say are the short responses. Effective employment equity programs would require all recruits to meet identified standards while removing systemic barriers to recruitment of qualified candidates from under-represented groups. Recent consultations have noted that there

is a limited understanding of employment equity among police executives and commensurate levels of concern among police officers about perceived "reverse discrimination". Employment equity includes targets and goals for representation, not quotas.

The concept and implementation of employment equity programs will affect police morale and resist the support of some police associations and individual officers at least as long as it is misunderstood and misinterpreted. The sooner we support informed dialogue and understanding, the easier it will be to make progress under favourable conditions. Police officers need to understand that they will be affected, but not victimized by employment equity.

The efficacy and enforcement of compulsory employment equity is an item of hot debate. As with so many issues the relative support among individuals for the manner and speed with which objectives are achieved is largely proportionate to the perceived effect that said change will have upon their status. In other words, this is an issue that requires judgement, leadership and follow-up to ensure that real progress is made and accepted.

D) Does Cross-Cultural Training Make Police More Effective?

There is widespread agreement that cross-cultural training of police is essential to enhance awareness, reduce frustration and improve the safety of police officers. All major enquiries into police-race relations have recommended the establishment and/or improvement of cross-cultural training and many police academies and organizations have introduced programs of one type or another.

The answer to the effectiveness question is probably as varied as the number of programs under way. An inventory and evaluation of cross cultural training is under development and should provide some insight into key components of effective training. Knowledge also is spreading about some of the basic methodology associated with creating awareness without reinforcing negative stereotypes. The need to place cross-cultural training in the context of ongoing practical application supports the idea of including cross-cultural elements within all modules and levels of police training.

The demand from diverse sectors for current and effective training and recruitment tools and information has fostered cooperative action on the development of a Canadian Police-Race Relations Centre to be located at the Canadian Police College in Ottawa. With adequate support, the Centre will offer a variety of services to key sectors to advance relations between police and ethno-cultural and visible minority groups.

E) How Can Progress Be Measured?

The effectiveness of combined training and recruitment efforts will be exemplified in the public conduct of police personnel. Externally, the true indicators of success will be community satisfaction, or lack thereof, as measured through official public complaints and less formal barometers of public opinion. To be an accurate reflection of public sentiment, complaint procedures must be impartial and easy to access.

Within police organizations, institutional commitment and progress will be measured by the achievement of recruitment and training objectives, the number of complaints received and satisfactorily resolved and the exercise of internal discipline. The most effective way to convey a corporate philosophy is leadership by example. The acceptable code of corporate conduct will be determined and maintained by the penalties applied to misconduct. Police executives and supervisors must not tolerate a corporate culture that ignores or even sanctions racially motivated intolerance or misconduct. If police organizations are truly reflective of the society in which they operate, most members will be persuaded with strong leadership to adapt and respond to the needs of a changing community. We may only be able to control the behaviour of others through the exercise of sufficient discipline when required.

F) Why Not Test and Select Recruits That Are Unbiased?

There is potential to improve selection techniques to screen out undesirable recruits. However selection means such as psychological testing should not be viewed as a panacea that will remove the need for one or all of cross-cultural training, internal discipline, effective community liaison and institutional change. Simply reducing the odds of hiring "bad attitudes" will not guarantee cultural sensitivity or effective police relations with all communities. Nor will it necessarily mitigate community reaction when a serious incident occurs.

G) For How Long Will Special Initiatives Be Required?

The question implies that the current emphasis on police-race relations is a passing phenomenon that will one day disappear and we will drop this issue and go back to "mainstream" policing. The point made, it could also imply that, with time, social change and sufficient effort, recruitment, cross cultural understanding and institutional change will lead to effective community-based policing in a multicultural Canada. What is now special will have become a regular part of providing good police services to all Canadians.

7. 3 POLICING AND VICTIMS

A) The Victim and the Criminal Justice System

In response to calls from victim groups and advocates, a federal/provincial Task Force on Justice for Victims of Crime was established in 1981 to study the situation and to make recommendations to improve the criminal justice system's response to victims. As part of its response, the federal government, in 1984 and again in 1987, sought and obtained approval from Cabinet to continue its "victims' initiative". The initiative contained several key focuses including a social service component and a criminal justice component. Provincial governments have also responded through the formation of structures and agencies to address the needs of victims, and have established numerous programs and supported local initiatives. The federal and provincial gouvernments are continuing to work closely to improve the criminal justice system response to the needs of victims.

Victimologists in the United States and Canada had been saying for some time that the victim was being twice victimized, once by the offender and again by the criminal justice system. This view was supported by the findings of the Task Force and by early research and demonstration studies to determine the needs experienced by victims of crime. These studies were conducted early in the initiative by the Ministry of the Solicitor General as part of their efforts to understand better the plight of victims and to contribute to a more sensitive criminal justice system.

B) The Changing Role of the Police

The studies also showed clearly that the police had a very important role in addressing several key needs of victims. The police are, in fact, at the forefront of the criminal justice system's response to crime. We have come to expect them to prevent crime in our society, to uphold the law, to protect us as individuals from crime, and to remove the perpetrators from our midst. At the scene of a crime, the police are, more often than not, the first sign of authority, having been called there by the victims themselves or perhaps by a witness to the event. They are often the first of society's agencies to deal with the victim and are increasingly being expected to provide them with primary services.

Until the reintroduction and general acceptance of community policing, the police were not comfortable with and were generally ill prepared to deal with their recently defined responsibility to victims, preferring to see themselves as "law enforcement officers" and as members of a police "force" as opposed to a police "service". There have, however, been remarkable changes over the last several years. A recent survey of police services revealed, for example, that well over 50% provided specialized services to victims of crime, virtually all police personnel now receive sensitization training to make them aware of the unique circumstances of crime victims and many receive specialized training in the provision of services. Indeed, several of the larger police services in Canada have created specialized units to address the needs of specific victims as, for example, victims of spousal assault. Increasingly, protocols are being developed to assist police in providing the most appropriate services to victims.

The acceptance of the additional responsibilities police are being asked to shoulder is clearly exemplified by the recent passing, in Ontario, of the Police Services Act to replace the Police Act. This Bill stresses the value of police service and embodies the declaration of "respect and sensitivity for victims of crime".

It has been suggested that the police are in a unique position to provide victims with the primary services they require. As mentioned above, the police are often the first authority figures a victim sees after the incident. The nature of that first police-victim interaction is extremely important in determining how the victim will come to terms with the incident. It has been shown, for example, that very basic reactions experienced by victims of crime include those of abandonment, of fear, of isolation, of guilt, of a loss of self-worth. Appropriate intervention by the police goes a long way to minimizing these feelings and to showing the victim that society does care and that the criminal justice system will treat them with respect, with understanding, and with sensitivity.

The police are ideally suited to serve as an information and referral service at a time when the victim needs this most. While court based victim services provide invaluable assistance at a later stage in the criminal justice process, significant benefits to the victim can be realized at the time of entry into the system. This contribution by the police becomes even more significant when one considers that victims have needs the addressing of which require a multi-disciplinary approach.

C) A Focus on Priority Victims

Currently, there are three primary areas of victimization considered priority areas for criminal justice intervention. These are family violence, elder abuse and the abuse of children.

i) Family Violence

While it is widely accepted that, in order to reduce and ultimately prevent family violence, it is critical to change the underlying attitudes, values, behaviours and social structures that contribute to and perpetuate violent and abusive interpersonal relationships, it is also accepted that the police must play a key role in intervening, in protecting victims from further abuse, and in providing primary services to victims. That police are succeeding in their efforts to provide appropriate services to victims of spousal assault, a recent study in Toronto showed that victims were satisfied with the way in which the police handled the situation and with the overall demeanour of the police.

ii) Abuse of Elderly People

The policing implications of elder abuse are also becoming increasingly recognized. Indeed, the RCMP launched, in 1989, a special initiative to address the problem through education programs and the provision of specialized services to elderly Canadians. A recent study indicated that social agencies and seniors believe that police can play a major role in alleviating seniors' biggest fear of being injured and dying alone. "But many seniors want something much less dramatic from police.. a kind word, a nod of recognition, some respect, some kindness.. a return to the old community beat cop..." Police are responding, though the study also stresses that there is still a debate on the most appropriate methods of addressing the needs of elderly victims of crime.

iii) Youth at Risk

Recent studies in the area of missing children in Canada showed clearly that a major problem facing police is the preponderance of young Canadians running away from home and ending up on the streets. These children are often running away from family violence and physical or sexual abuse and are in danger of being further victimized by criminal elements to which they will be exposed on the street. Returning some of these children to the homes or institutions from which they have fled is perhaps the worst action that can be taken. How to deal appropriately with these young victims, how to salvage the rest of their lives is an increasingly important question facing police services.

D) The Future

The trend toward accepting their role in dealing with victims of crime, toward accepting the need to work with social and non-governmental agencies, toward accepting their increasingly relevant role as agents of social change is one that must continue if police services are to fulfil their responsibilities and to contribute to improving the situation for unfortunate victims of criminal activity. Some of the more readily defined directions for the future can be outlined in terms of the envisioned policing response to family violence. The term "family violence" is used in this context to encompass a variety of criminal and antisocial behaviour, including spousal abuse, physical and sexual abuse of children, and the abuse, neglect and exploitation of elderly people.

i) Public Awareness and Education

Making Canadians aware of the extent, nature, causes and consequences of family violence is an important first step to the long-term prevention of the problem.

In keeping with the philosophy and practice of community-based policing, the police today play a central role in crime prevention and the promotion of community awareness and action to combat crime problems at the local level. As such, the police have a unique opportunity and responsibility to undertake and to participate in activities designed to educate and thereby increase public awareness about family violence and the related issues of elder abuse, children/youth at risk, such as child sexual abuse, parental and stranger abductions, runaways, and street youth.

Linguistic and cultural differences, inaccurate perceptions and other access issues discourage and prevent individual victims and communities from deriving full benefit from programs to prevent family violence and assist victims. People living in rural and remote areas of Canada have relatively limited resources to address the problem an police personnel represent a comparably accessible reservoir of expertise and a catalyst for coordinated community approaches.

ii) Education and Training of Professionals and Volunteers

There has been a strong need expressed by both governmental and non-governmental sectors for increased and ongoing education and training to better prepare front-line workers, including criminal justice personnel, to deal with family violence situations.

Enhanced police awareness, understanding and sensitivity to the dynamics of family violence will provide police officers with the knowledge and skills necessary for effective protection and intervention approaches to victims, offenders and families experiencing domestic violence. Improved understanding and sensitivity of police is particularly important when investigating and intervening in cases of violence and abuse where ethno-cultural or disability factors are present.

Similarly, education and training opportunities for correctional staff working with offenders in institutional settings as well as those responsible for the release and management of offenders within the community is seen as a priority. This is particularly important given the finding that offenders are often victims as well as perpetrators of family violence.

iii) Information Collection, Dissemination and Exchange

At the present time, policy makers and front-line workers lack the comprehensive data on family violence needed to assess and improve the criminal justice and social service response to these crimes. It is essential that complete and accurate information on individual cases as well as overall trends and patterns in family violence be collected, analyzed and used as a basis for measuring the extent and nature of the problem and designing more effective prevention, protection, intervention and treatment strategies.

More complete utilization by criminal justice agencies of advanced technology and expert and automated systems will permit them to derive full benefit from current information systems and resources. Information exchange is also essential to ensure coordinated multi-disciplinary approaches to addressing the problem of family violence.

iv) Intervention and Treatment

The research and programming emphasis has been on identifying and addressing the needs of Canada's urban population. While victims in urban and rural settings face very similar situations regarding their victimization, the service networks available to them are very different. In urban centres there often exist an array of social service, voluntary, and criminal justice agencies offering differing responses to the needs of victims. The major need in these situations is for an interdisciplinary approach well coordinated with the use of effective protocols.

Individuals living in rural and remote areas as well as socially isolated groups require programs and intervention models that are tailored to their specific needs. Conventional urban models are doomed to fail as they do not take into account the unique needs of these particular groups. In rural settings there are often very few services to which victims can be referred and the police often provide the primary, if not the only, services to victims of crime. The victims' expectations of the police are very different from those in urban centres, and the police role is expanded considerably. Policing, law enforcement and corrections strategies must take this into account.

With limited resources and limited access to social services in rural and remote communities, it means police personnel often represent a relatively accessible reservoir of help and expertise. Enhancing the ability of small town and rural police forces to effectively intervene in domestic violence situations will not only improve policing services to these populations but will also improve the overall response to family violence in these communities.

v) Research, Evaluation and Statistics

A strong knowledge base, founded on sound research, is needed to support and guide the development of new approaches to family violence. By continuing to conduct qualitative and quantitative studies and by critically evaluating our efforts and experiences in the area of prevention, protection, intervention and treatment, this information base will be strengthened.

The need to understand more fully and to document the effectiveness and implications of existing programs, services and policies regarding family violence is widely accepted. In order to continue to improve the response of the criminal justice system in general, and policing, law enforcement and corrections strategies in particular, it is critical to know what works, what does not work and exactly what should be changed.

vi) The Charging Policy

The issue of the implementation of a charging policy regarding spousal assault demonstrates clearly one of the key avenues for the evolution of the policing role in regard to victims of crime. While there is little standardization in the implementation or application of charging policies in Canada, virtually all police agencies are encouraged to lay charges of assault in cases where there is reasonable and probable grounds that an assault took place. The police are, in other words, encouraged to remove this onus from the victim.

It is important to note that the charging policy, like many other such directives, are the result of decisions taken by policy makers and legislators who are not directly involved in police work. The decisions, however, have a tremendous impact on police work and on the evolving role of the police regarding victims. A challenge for police, legislators, and social service administrators is to collaborate in the development of such policies to ensure appropriate and coordinated strategies that capitalize on the strong contributions to be made by each of the agencies involved in addressing the needs of victims of crime in Canada.

7.4 POLICING AND DRUGS

A) Introduction

Traditionally, the police and the public have shared a common unrealistic expectation that with sufficient enforcement resources illicit drug supplies can be eradicated and hence the drug problems solved. Canadian society may gradually be moving away from this simplistic notion of the capabilities of law enforcement. 'Supply reduction' initiatives alone will not eliminate drug abuse. Supply reduction enforcement strategies to control drugs are marginal activities that can have only a limited impact on this illicit activity and even less impact on the drug using behaviour of the population.

Over the years, resources made available to the RCMP, provincial and municipal police forces, Customs, and other law enforcement agencies have been used to attempt to stop the supply of drugs from reaching the public--either by stopping it at the border or through street level enforcement to catch distributors. While large seizures are frequently being made by the police, the drugs keep coming into the country. There is now a general recognition that as long as a market exists for drugs, drugs will continue to arrive in sufficient amounts to be accessible to even the naive school child. Drug law enforcement in Canada has not succeeded in making drugs harder to obtain, nor in raising the prices or lowering the purity--all indications that the policing strategies that aim at "elimination" of the drug problem are not having a direct impact. The street price of drugs is actually decreasing and the purity is increasing.

B) Policing and the National Drug Strategy

In May 1987 the National Drug Strategy (NDS) was launched in Canada and allocated a total of $210 million, over five years, to the drug abuse problem. Of these funds, 30 % were allocated to law enforcement and interdiction initiatives with the larger percentage (70%) aimed at 'demand reduction' activities including drug awareness, prevention, treatment, and research. These figures are in direct contrast to the U.S. drug strategy that allocated 70% of the funds to enforcement and 30% to demand reduction initiatives.

The Drug Strategy adopted two main philosophies. First, a balance ought to be maintained between supply reduction initiatives and demand reduction initiatives. Prior to the National Drug Strategy a disproportionate amount of resources had been allocated to the enforcement side of drug abuse. Second, combatting drug abuse necessitates a wide range of 'partnerships' among diverse organizations, levels of government, community organizations and the police, who must work together.

A focus on demand reduction initiatives implies different "players" than a more strictly law enforcement approach would include. A successful strategy must incorporate the efforts of all organizations and individuals who are interested in working together to combat the drug abuse problem. The strategy therefore speaks of "partnerships".

In some cases these partnerships had not existed before. For example, it has been essential for the RCMP, and provincial and municipal police officers to work closely with the provincial addictions agencies across Canada and also with National Health and Welfare. The credibility and expertise of the police makes them valued participants in the coordinated effort against drug abuse. However, few officials at Health and Welfare had considered there to be an important role for the police in the area of drug prevention and working with the police community was for these health professionals largely a new experience. Through a gradual process of interactions on both sides, these new partners are more trusting of each other's expertise.

In addition to the need to recognize the new partners, there was the additional need to encourage former partners to work in a more truly collaborative manner. For example, various police forces must work together on specific cases but in the area of drug prevention and enforcement more is required. For an effective strategy, the police were asked to share their prevention resources and expertise in

the development of additional materials. Likewise, federal government departments such as the Department of the Solicitor General, Customs, Justice, and National Health and Welfare, had worked together on numerous initiatives in the past, but the National Drug Strategy involves continued, more structured interaction.

Specific aspects of drug abuse fall under the mandates of diverse departments. Hence, in some situations, more than one department saw itself as having main responsibility. Even where the key players were clear, the involvement of "new" players into an area, traditionally the domain of one specific department, created debate and occasionally disagreement. It became clear that the issue of drug abuse is no less susceptible to problems of jurisdiction than any other area of joint endeavour. It is important to manage this potential for disunity in trying to attain cooperation and coordination of effort. This was an important issue for the original National Drug Strategy to recognize and is a continuing essential aspect of the involvement of the police in this field.

C) Drug Demand Reduction Policing

The strategy therefore places an emphasis on the ability of the police to participate on the 'demand reduction' side of the strategy in addition to their more traditional enforcement role. To some extent this new role merely emphasizes the integration of community-based policing strategies into the larger approach to drug reduction in Canada. Working in communities, with community members, for community initiated objectives is a recognized essential aspect of Canadian police work. Drug awareness/ prevention work illustrates this community-based approach.

School administrators, principles and teachers have been inviting the police into the schools to talk on a range of topics from road safety, fire safety, to crime prevention. Now, across Canada, at the invitation of the schools, police departments in most areas have a special unit of officers who assume as one of their main responsibilities the task of giving presentations to youth.

While the RCMP, municipal and provincial police forces had been active in responding to requests for drug prevention presentations from schools, parent groups, work places and community organizations, little coordination of effort had been applied to the activities. While no one would maintain that the police should be primarily educators, what is recognized is that the police have both credibility and experience that can be used as a major strength against drug abuse. Coupled with this "new" role for the police is the fact that policy-makers, educators and parents have come to view the schools as the site providing the greatest potential for children's health education intervention.

In working with the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, municipal, provincial police forces and the RCMP, Solicitor General officials determined that what was needed was not necessarily more school presentations, because some of the police forces were already responding to as many invitations from the schools as man-power would allow. Rather, the police asked for more guidelines as to what kind of messages ought to be given, and requested that more resources be made available to assist in the teaching effort.

Educators have emphasized that merely "informing" children/youth about potential health problems is not enough. Ways have to be found to mould or change attitudes. The greatest barrier of all is seen to be negative peer pressure. The police messages can therefore no longer simply be "don't take drugs because it is against the Law". Rather, the messages have to be much more sophisticated to encourage the youth to arrive at the decision that drugs just might not be the clever or "in thing"--**even when** friends attempt to encourage others to participate.

Officials had to turn to experts in these fields and to encourage the police to recognize the available specialists. In addition to addictions expertise, educational expertise was required. Therefore each "partner" had to bring to the prevention effort his/her own particular skills. The educators bringing their knowledge of how kids learn, the addictions experts bringing their knowledge of drug use and addictions, and the police bringing their credibility and street policing experience.

It was next essential to determine what were the actual needs of the police--what were the skills that the police already had, and what resources were required. To accomplish this a workshop was held with support from the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police. Representatives from the provincial addictions agencies, school boards and the police community participated.

At this workshop it was decided that police needed an accredited drug prevention training program that would encourage a uniformity of **tone** of message in the schools across the country. It was recognized that many of the police jurisdictions had their own materials and would continue to use various programs but that the "tone" ought to be similar and compatible with the messages given by National Health and Welfare and school educators.

It was also felt that an accredited training program would serve symbolically to emphasize to the Police Chiefs the importance of drug prevention officers and the need for police management to recognize this expertise by choosing the best officers for this police responsibility and not use these positions as either rewards or as punishments within departments.

A committee was formed to work with the Canadian Police College officials to discuss the format of the course. The Commissioner of the RCMP intervened personally to ensure that this course would become a priority and after soliciting recommendations from across Canada, a pilot course was offered in January 1989. Over 60 police forces representing municipal, provincial and federal policing, have participated in this Drug Abuse Prevention Training Officers' Course.

In addition to this training course, the police perceived a need for assistance with the actual material that was to be presented to youth in schools. With the assistance of the Addiction Research Foundation in Ontario, a booklet of lesson plans titled "Kids and Cops", was made available for presentation by the police to grade six students. Over 20,000 copies of this booklet of lesson plans has now been distributed in English and French and has been seen to be useful to the police.

Likewise, the Federal government assisted the Nova Scotia Commission on Drug Dependency to produce lesson plans, titled "Police Assisting Community Education" (PACE), for the police to use in presentations aimed at grades 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. A training component specific to PACE is an essential aspect of this program and courses have been offered in French and in English at the Canadian Police College and regionally across Canada.

The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police proposed that a video be produced to serve as an additional resource for the police. The federal government funded the production and distribution of a video titled "Choose". Together with two additional videos, "Choose" was made available to all police forces for use in classrooms.

Therefore the "package" intended to enhance the ability of the police to work as drug prevention officers now includes an accredited drug prevention training course, lesson plans, videos, and any additional resources available within each jurisdiction.

During this same period the RCMP have expanded their drug awareness program and have been extremely active with :

- community-based initiatives in each of the divisions across Canada and drug prevention activities specific to native communities and workplace prevention;

- drug displays in malls and at special events; telephone video disc display with messages from role models for youth;

- high profile personalities involved in speaking against drugs i.e. Olympic swimmer Carolyn Waldo, international fashion model Monica Schnarre, National Hockey League stars together on a "Be Yourself..." poster;

- publications including:
  Is Your Child a Drug User
  Drugs in the Workplace
  Pride/RCMP Manual for Parents
  "Selected Reference Notes for Drug Awareness Officers"
  Five Facts About Drugs

While these activities must all continue, there is a need now to focus on the "harder to reach" youth who are not necessarily in schools, or who do not have either French or English as a first language. Posters, radio and television public service announcements and publications have been produced by the RCMP in Inuit, various native dialects, Spanish, Swedish and Finnish.

Initiatives are now being developed to target other groups plus the more "at risk" youth that police may have additional problems in relating to. Focus groups are taking place across Canada to pull together community members representing a wide range of communities including the Chinese,

Vietnamese, Italian, Asian, Spanish, South American and black communities. The aim is to use these meetings to identify resource needs to assist the police to work more effectively with each of these communities for drug awareness and prevention rather than enforcement.

D) Supply Reduction Policing

Supply reduction initiatives were not ignored in the National Strategy but did not dominate. Drug law enforcement has traditionally epitomized the notion of street warfare rather than street interaction and 'buy and bust' policing strategies were as sophisticated as many of the operations became. The National Drug Strategy emphasized the need to target the upper-echelon of the drug trafficking hierarchy in addition to the lower level street busts.

"Taking the Profit from Crime" and controlling money laundering have become a national, as well as an international, law enforcement focus. Canada's Proceeds of Crime legislation, drafted as part of the drug strategy, was proclaimed in January 1989. The 'Proceeds of Crime' approach recognizes that street enforcement tends to target the lower levels of drug trafficking organizations and arrests made at this level do not harm the larger organization. The philosophy has become to take the profits away from the criminal enterprise and in that way put the entire operation, rather than specific individuals, out of business.

These complex financial investigations are usually extremely resource intensive and require a commitment by police management over a long-time and sufficient financial resources to see the investigations through to a conclusion. However, increasing policing resources may have an impact on other functions. The criminal justice system must be viewed as a "linked" process in that increases in resources to one segment of the process will put strain on other stages. For example, increasing police investigators may be counterproductive without adequate street level traditional drug enforcement officers to provide information 'up' to the investigators. Likewise, increasing police resources will necessitate an increase in prosecutors. In order to secure the necessary authorizations the police are having to work closely with the Crown council very early in these investigations rather than bringing them in at the end when they are ready to contemplate charges.

Just as demand-reduction policing involved a new range of partners or a different working relationship between the police and other agencies, likewise proceeds of crime investigations must involve a greater appreciation of diverse expertise. Hence, creating a distinct, elitist unit to handle these upper-echelon investigations must not be allowed to cause a split within police departments and between the police and the communities with a resulting barrier to the flow of information between street officers and the financial investigating officers. "Partners" must include forensic accountants, national or international computerized informational systems, intelligence analysts, and the police officers involved in diverse policing strategies who can contribute information to feed into these 'proceeds' investigations.

The argument behind a focus on the proceeds of crime or the upper echelon criminals is based on a sound theory. However, it must not ignore the realities of police work--police reliance on street information, use of informants, knowledge of the community and the need for frequent interaction with the institutions who are being used by launderers or directly by enterprise criminals to legitimize the illicit proceeds. Therefore even this form of policing must not be divorced from the communities which will provide the essential information from which to build police cases.

Therefore on both the demand and the supply reduction side of drug abuse reduction, few areas within the police mandate illustrate the pull towards community-based policing as clearly as the innovative strategies that are becoming a part of drug enforcement in Canada--while also illustrating some of the tensions found in departments that are realizing the impact that this shift may have on their departments. The assertion that enforcement strategies alone are not and can not work to eliminate drug abuse has been hard for some police departments to accept. However, the eventual acceptance of this fact has lead to the valuable alternative policing strategies that may now be having some impact on the drug problem in Canada.

7.5 POLICING AND THE CHARTER

The future for police in terms of the measures that can be employed in investigating offences and gathering evidence to support prosecutions is unsettled, if not unsettling. Even more uncertain is the future for the measures required to detect or discover crime as opposed to detecting or discovering persons believed to have committed crimes which have been officially noticed. Where the yardstick for comparison are those practices, procedures and measures which are currently available, the future will provide the police either with less or perhaps worse, with powers coupled with so many restrictions and incidental complex duties and responsibilities that their utility may be neutralised.

Commonly referred to as 'police powers' - an unfortunate phrase which contributes inevitably to the tendency to reduce or confine them - these activities cover a wide range from the innocuous to the deadly. Over the course of the last 20 years most if not all of these measures have, in one way or another, been placed under official scrutiny. Change, of course, is the inevitable product of this scrutiny. There is no prospect that this intense scrutiny will cease. Perhaps this is as it should be. Nevertheless, if the question relates to what the police will be able to do in the future the answer lies in looking at what has happened in the past. We should expect more of the same.

The blue prints for these changes - past and future - can be easily found: the 1969 Ouimet Report (Canadian Committee on Corrections), working papers and reports of the Law Reform Commission of Canada (1970 -1990) and most significantly, the enactment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). Legislative reforms, judicial decisions and institutional responses have followed.

Very few discrete 'powers' have been outright abolished or eliminated. The one which would likely come to mind is the 'writ of assistance', the general warrant authorizing its holder to enter premises at will to search for drugs and other contraband. Abolished legislatively (and, strictly thereafter albeit symbolically, judicially), it was meant to be replaced, in part at least, by the 'telewarrant' procedure, designed to enable the issuing of a judicial warrant quickly by telephone or other means of communication.

In some respects what was done was a simple balancing of relevant interests with a view to achieving an equilibrium more in tune with today's climate. There is no question that the writ of assistance had the potential for abuse. Furthermore, should there be an abuse, there was no effective remedial procedure. On the other hand, adequate means were needed to cope with the situations that writs of assistance were being used to combat - rapidly developing and highly transient drug deals. Hence, an attempt was made to replace the objectional writ with an expeditious procedure to obtain a judicial warrant while maintaining the appropriate safeguards.

This has also been the approach of the courts when considering the validity of challenged police practices and procedures. As was stated in **R. v. Beare; R. v. Higgins, [1988] 2 S.C.R. 387** a recent Supreme Court of Canada decision challenging legislation permitting fingerprinting suspects prior to conviction " ...these procedures have been permitted because of the felt need in the community to arm the police with adequate and reasonable powers for the investigation of crime". While the court rejected the challenge and validated the legislation, it went on to note that it did not "authorize their unconstitutional retention" referring to the rather common practice of retaining fingerprints of persons who ultimately were not convicted.

This is a good example of judicial legislation. Though the courts are more limited then the legislator in being able to mandate the manner in which policing activities are to be carried out, they do have the ability to control matters by providing views as to what may or may not be acceptable. Pre-Charter cases dealing with access to information used to obtain search warrants (**A.-G. N.S. v. MacIntyre, [1982] 1 S.C.R. 175**) and search warrants directed at lawyers (**Descoteaux v. Mierzwinski and A.-G. Que., [1982] 1 S.C.R. 860**) amply demonstrate this ability. Cases based on Charter issues are of course even more apt to be informed with judicial opinions as to how the police must conduct their business.

The field of electronic surveillance or the interception of private communications is ideally suited for perspectives on how the modern legislator and judge approaches policing practices. Out of a legitimate concern for personal privacy and with an appreciation for the level of intrusiveness made possible by advances in technology, along with a due recognition of the difficulties needed in getting at secret crime or at sophisticated criminal enterprises, Parliament enacted a complex code to control and regulate the interception of private communications.

Both the legislative and judicial responses to this sensitive area illustrates the police predicament. The elaborate scheme enacted in 1973 as a result of recommendations made in the Ouimet Report made it possible for police to obtain authorizations to intercept private communications. While making it possible, it did not make it easy.

Applications had to be made through specially designated lawyers to senior judges in respect to a limited number of offences and only when conventional investigative methods were not of use. Authorizations were limited in a number of respects and subject to a variety of conditions. Strict record keeping was required and a variety of notifications and reports were mandated. The consequence of error, at least as regards to criminal investigations,was the inadmissibility of relevant evidence. As a consequence the focus of many criminal prosecutions involving electronic surveillance shifted from what the accused did to how the police conducted the investigation. This foreshadowed what has now become routine has become the case in many criminal trials involving the exercise of other police practices and procedures.

Notwithstanding the legislative attempt to balance matters, through carefully controlling the basis upon which the interception of private communications could be lawfully made, the scheme has not gone without criticism. The Law Reform Commission of Canada in its Working Paper 47 acknowledged this attempt to balance. It noted that "implicit in the legislation are the principles of restraint, respect for privacy, definition of the powers of the police and judicial review". Nevertheless, the paper went on to severely criticize the scheme, making over 75 recommendations for change.

Though a number of the recommendations were meant to facilitate and streamline matters, most were meant to tighten up procedures or further circumscribe the basis upon which interceptions should occur. The view of the Law Reform Commission (LRC) was that electronic eavesdropping was being used too frequently; then their proposals seemed to be to discourage further the use of this measure by making it more difficult to employ it. In this they may have succeeded: in 1985, the year preceding the paper, 603 federal authorizations were granted; in 1988, there were 303.

While there has been no legislative reaction, there has been significant judicial response. Two areas in particular have been radically, altered. The first relates to the abandonment of the secrecy requirement. The requirement to keep material filed on the application secret, by keeping it in a sealed packet in the custody of the court was initially interpreted to be needed to encourage full disclosure by police when making an application for an authorization. Charter based litigation on the right to make full answer and defence has effectively opened all packets with the consequence that process of using intercepted evidence has been further complicated. Worse, the use of electronic surveillance has been discouraged in situations where the risk of disclosure of confidential sources and methods can not be taken.

The second area of judicial intervention, is in the area of participant monitoring. Parliament consciously decided not to require an authorization for surreptitious recording of conversations where one of the parties consented. The Supreme Court of Canada thinks otherwise.

Recently, in **R. v. Duarte (1990)** the Court found that it would be 'anomalous' to consider participant surveillance as 'reasonable' in the context of s. 8 of the Charter. This is because it "leaves to the sole discretion of the police all the conditions under which conversations are intercepted". This compares unfavourably to the stringent scheme for controlling interceptions generally, providing as it does "numerous safeguards designed to prevent the possibility that the police view recourse to electronic surveillance as a humdrum and routine administrative matter". The solution is to require obtaining

an authorization. It is not an untypical judicial solution. The practice in question is not prohibited; instead it is confined through the judicially imposed procedures with a view to removing police discretion and ensuring that the police do not see the procedure as "a humdrum and routine matter".

The future of policing practices and procedures will also be shaped by a much greater emphasis on institutional rules. Standing orders and internal operating procedures will provide more detail then has hitherto been the case at least as regards to the intrusive and complex areas. Most Canadian police agencies have regulations controlling the use of deadly force which impose limits well within what is legally available. Those that do not, soon will. The same goes for closely related areas such as vehicle pursuit procedures.

In the short-term, clearly defined, sensible policies, will forestall legislative or judicial regulation. Particularly, if the policies are complemented with effective training programmes and adequate review and accountability mechanisms. Nevertheless, sooner or later desired police behaviour will be reflected in the law, whether it be through legislation or as a consequence of judicial decision. Perhaps the value of extensive internal rules will lie in their use in pointing the legislator or the judge to the sensible solution.

Indeed, a critical issue for the future will be the ability to convincingly justify the need for challenged practices. One should read the two Supreme Court cases mentioned above. Much more notice was taken of the policing side of the equation in the fingerprint case then in the participant surveillance case. The fact that the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police intervened in the fingerprint case may have had some bearing. It may be the reason why the court seemed to have a better sense of the importance of the policing issues at play in that case. In any event, an avowed principle of the courts is that society wishes to arm the police with adequate and reasonable powers. There are claims being made regularly that current policing practices are excessive and unreasonable. It would seem that these claims have to be met head on with legally acceptable refutations.

It may be tempting to conclude that the future of policing powers looks somewhat bleak. This should be resisted in favour of a much more positive approach. In many ways what Canadian society is doing in this important area is not much different then what it is doing in many other critical areas. Parliament and the Courts are responding to changing times and conditions and are attempting to come to grips with a variety of conflicting forces in a complex world.

Though it is unfortunate that in doing so, the traditional confidence that Canadians have had in their police has been put in issue and equally unfortunate that the arena for discussing the limits of the policing authority of the State is the criminal trial, the fact is that we are engaged in an exercise in re-striking the balance between the measures needed to effectively maintain the safety and security of all citizens and the acceptance by these same citizens of the consequential impairment on their basic liberties.

For the police community, cynicism and discouragement need not be the consequence. They are in a position to take a more active role in explaining why changes in challenged areas ought to be resisted. Furthermore they can also show leadership by demonstrating a readiness to contribute to finding acceptable alternatives to undesirable practices in order to ensure that any redefined balance is sensible.

In order to assist society in its responsibility to provide the police with the right tools to do the job, society must be accurately informed about the nature of the job. This is particularly important when measures that offend some sensibilities are needed. Eavesdropping, paying informers, using trickery and other 'unsporting' means, may be the only realistic approach to discovering particular types of criminal activity. Decision makers must realize the implications of curtailing or circumscribing such measures.

Similarly, decision makers must be provided with the dollar cost and resource implications when consideration is being given to particular legislative solutions. Finally, the question of converting the criminal trial from a determination of guilt or innocence of an accused person to a trial of the criminal justice system must be squarely faced.

VIII. WORK SMARTER: SOME ALTERNATIVES

There is a growing realization that the police and the criminal justice system are unable to deal alone with crime-related matters without the support and assistance of other sectors. Also, this era of chronic fiscal constraint entails that resources previously untapped be marshalled to render police organizations more cost effective.

8.1 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND VOLUNTARISM

It is now widely recognized that members of the public can and do serve an indispensable role in dealing with crime and related community problems. Public involvement can take the form of detecting crime, notifying authorities about some crime or other community problem, preventing crime, and dealing with community problems. Voluntary activity is very prevalent in Canada. It has been estimated that one in four Canadians have, at some point, engaged in some form of voluntary activity. At the present time, according to a study by the Secretary of State, there are approximately 5.3 million volunteers active in this country. Since some of them give some time to more than one organization, this number is closer to 9.2 million. Each volunteer contributes an average of two hours per week. Calculated on the basis of the minimum wage, it represents at least an economy of $75 million a week or $4 billion a year. The "real" economy is probably twice this figure. With budgetary restraints, voluntarism will amplify. Voluntarism does not usually threaten employment. It renders assistance, free of charge. Without it, many community services would disappear. In addition, a majority of volunteers are quite motivated and convinced, they do it by choice. This determination is linked sometimes with more efficient work.

Community involvement in the field of justice is relatively important. It is estimated that there are about 20,000 volunteers in the policing field, especially with regards to prevention and victims services, and also about 20,000 in the correctional field which has a long history of community involvement.

Public involvement in policing can help stretch police resources further and can, at the same time, foster greater support in traditional law enforcement tasks (e.g., through more public involvement with the police, more people may be inclined to report crimes and serve as witnesses in criminal investigations). Another function of participation is one which is highly valued by proponents of community-based policing: the reduction of the fear of crime. Apathy breeds fear and active participation in crime prevention and control programs is one of the best forms of medicine.

Volunteer activity is not new in dealing with crime; it has been quite prevalent for the last 15 to 20 years. Neighbourhood Watch and patrol programs have been in place in many communities. Volunteer and self-help organizations have been very conspicuous in dealing with substance abuse problems. Volunteers have also contributed heavily to hot-lines, intervention, and shelters for victims of spousal abuse, sexual assault, and other offences. Operation Red Nose, in which volunteers drive home those who have had too much to drink during the holiday season, has also been established in

many cities. Many of these programs, however, are not exclusively staffed by volunteers. Professionals are needed to recruit and train volunteers and administrators are needed to manage the agencies delivering these programs. Clerical support, too, is needed. Hence, even volunteer organizations need funding and it is recommended here that the federal government continue its program of providing sustaining funds for these organizations. It may even be recommended that such funding be increased as it may result in an overall saving to the taxpayer.

Apart from those already involved actively in volunteer activity, there is an as yet untapped army of people present in every community that can serve as a valuable resource in dealing with crime and other community problems. There are retired police officers and military personnel, former mental health workers, and able-bodied senior citizens who can provide a diverse array of services in non-lethal areas. They can not only serve as the "eyes of the community" but can work with community police officers in monitoring the solution to a community problem or conflict, giving feedback to the officer about the efficacy of the solution arrived at. It may even be useful to create a registry of such persons so the community officer can call upon them as needed.

Widespread community participation in crime-related matters is not without its problems. Creating more "eyes" in the community widens the net of surveillance in the community, with the accompanying danger that citizens may have less to fear from conventional criminals but more to fear from neighbourhood vigilantes. What goes without saying in this regard is that all crime control and preventive activity, whether or not it is under the auspices of a local police department must respect the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and procedural law as enshrined in the Criminal Code. There is also the possibility that community volunteers may be more likely to be recruited by powerful and organized elements in the community and, hence, serve these elements as opposed to the common good. There is also the concern that volunteers will provide a lower standard of service than professionally trained officers.

Notwithstanding these dangers, the move toward growing citizen involvement must forge ahead as the conventional approach to crime can address only the "tip of the iceberg" of crime and other community problems. The key will be to utilize this great community resource in such a way as to maximize it but, at the same time, to make volunteers accountable and to channel their energies in activities where the potential for harms and abuse are minimized.

8.2 PRIVATE SECURITY

The fiscal crisis and disappointments with public policing and the criminal justice system in general have led to the ascendance of private security. Private security involves both personnel and hardware; however, in this section it is primarily the issues relating to personnel that are addressed. The differences between public and private policing are not always clear. For example, off-duty police officers often perform functions for private security firms. Or, private security agencies perform security services in public places (e.g., shopping centres, stadiums, and even patrol the streets). Private security personnel can probably be broadly defined as working for private firms and as not having formal police powers, although they may be licensed and work in accredited companies.

The private security sector has grown to the point where, in terms of manpower, it overwhelms the number of public police officers. As indicated in Chapter I, there are about 55,000 full-time public police officers in Canada. The total number of full and part-time private security officers, on the other hand, are estimated to be in the vicinity of 125,000. About 75,000 are employed in private firms which private services on a contract basis. Approximately another 50,000 are in-house security personnel working for such concerns as the larger department firms. It is estimated that over three billion dollars a year are spent on private security services in Canada. The scope of private security duties includes assets protection, loss prevention, countermeasures for industrial espionage, drug testing in the work environment, extortion, product tampering, dignitary and facility protection, and communications security.

Private and public security agencies are not to be seen as mutually exclusive as they frequently work in partnership. One form of cooperation involves the sharing of information regarding the criminal conduct of individuals. Like law enforcement agencies, large companies often keep files on employees who have committed infractions. Drug abuse is not only a societal but a corporate problem. Drug testing and rehabilitation programs for employees can accompany efforts to deal with drug abuse in the larger community by the police and other agencies. In addition, private companies fund programs such as the Greyhound Corporation, which allows juvenile runaways to return home at no cost.

Private security can save taxpayers considerable money in certain areas. For example, private security guards can be posted at court houses, stadiums, and other public facilities at considerable lower cost than using public police officers. Also, a police presence may be undesirable in certain places. Placing police officers in court, for example, conveys the image that the police run the criminal justice system and that the judicial system, therefore, is anything but impartial.

There are, of course, certain dangers and disadvantages to privatizing security. It might be argued that private security officers will have greater allegiance to their employers than to professionalism and the impartial discharge of their duties. Furthermore, private security personnel often exercise enormous discretion but, at the same time, they may be seriously lacking in training and official powers. There is also substantial room for abuses. In-house security procedures are notorious for their lack of due process. Employees facing accusations of theft, for example, can rarely appeal sanctions levied against them; hence, accountability is a serious problem in many contexts within the private security sector.

What of training and standards for private security officers? Obviously, save a few exceptions, recruitment and training is not as rigorous as with public police officers. On the other hand, one has to remember that some private officers are ex-police officers. Also, each province has its own private security act.

Furthermore, there are associations such as the Canadian Society for Industrial Security which set minimum standards for the private security sector. Regular membership within this society comes from security practitioners from executive, managerial, supervisory levels, or other responsible staff positions within industry, business, banking, educational institutions, and government. Educators in security and personnel within the criminal justice system can also join the Society. The Society has an accreditation program. Practitioners with a minimum of five years' experience in the supervision/management of security within the industrial security sector can apply for certification.

Standards, albeit not as rigorous as with public policing, are therefore evolving in this growing sector. The question is whether, in response to fiscal constraint and the trend toward the diffusion of responsibility for policing, the risks involved in the greater reliance on private security are justified by private security's enhancement of cost effectiveness in policing.

8.3 PARALLEL PUBLIC SAFETY

A) Government Regulations and their Enforcement

Aside from police departments and private security, there are 14 federal government departments (including 46 agencies) with major law enforcement responsibilities (fisheries, the environment, customs, revenue, etc.). These responsibilities derive from 157 federal statutes. There are also numerous provincial and municipal statutes and law enforcers or peace officers.

Due to the lack of coordination of the many federal departments responsible for law enforcement, a group called Federal Law Enforcement Under Review (FLEUR) in the Department of the Solicitor General has been established to study the activities, policies, and procedures of these federal departments. FLEUR is developing a federal enforcement officer training program and uniform minimum standards, firearms guidelines, interdepartmental coordination, and information sharing.

There is substantial overlap between the work of traditional law enforcement agencies and these departments. For example, in Canada's National Parks, park wardens used to have the powers of police constables, which created some confusion in the law enforcement community. They are at present empowered to be peace officers, providing support for law enforcement agencies. It is expected that many more agencies will be involved in these parallel functions in the years to come. The environmentalist movement has, as an example, led to the formation of "green police" in some communities. Such police monitor environmental abuses, enforce health laws, and control rabid animals, just to name a few of their tasks.

B) Public Prevention and Security Enforcers

In response to the regionalization of police services and some dissatisfaction with the visibility of the police, a number of suburban communities of Montreal have established their own parallel security forces. These forces are public in that they are paid by the city concerned. They patrol the streets, engage in preventive activities, enforce municipal by-laws, and handle some traffic duties. They do

not have police powers and hence call in the Montreal Urban Community Police Service when arrests need to be made. Of course, they do have citizen arrest powers that can be exercised in extraordinary circumstances. They, however, do not carry firearms.

These security services tend to wear uniforms and have marked patrol cars with a crest of the city. The salary of these officers is by far much less than first class police constables. Some of these communities also use firemen and police science students to enforce certain infractions.

C) Community Fire Service

Fire services around the country constitute a very large untapped resource in terms of their potential for supporting and complementing police services. A typical fireman is at the scene of a fire a few days a year. Of course, they do train and maintain equipment when they are not responding to fires, as well as keep physically fit and conduct public information programs. In the larger cities, firefighters are well trained and paid almost as much as a police officer. So, in some cities, fire and police services have been pooled together again. Such pooling existed years ago in many places and it is envisaged that it will return in the future in a more widespread way.

"Fire officers", with some training and supervision, could help the police perform many tasks. They can participate in mediating conflicts in the community and implementing "problem solving". They can be actively involved in promoting prevention programs, canvassing door to door and so on. Fire departments have already shown a great deal of speed in responding to accidents. They also possess some investigative expertise due to their experience with arson. With 22,000 full-time firemen in Canada and a large number of part-time, volunteer, and reserve firefighters, the potential for complementing and assisting police personnel in a variety of tasks appears to be substantial. Therefore, one can expect a new partnership between these two major public services in the years to come.

D) Community Military Service

According to the strategic planning of the Canadian Armed Forces, with the end of the Cold War, one can expect to see a partial demilitarization of Europe and hence a trimming of foreign (Soviet, American, Canadian, etc.) military personnel and spending. At the present time, there are approximately 89,000 regular personnel in the Canadian Armed Forces. It is estimated that by the year 2000, some of these forces may no longer be necessary as Canadian personnel may leave Europe altogether.

Thus, a large number of person-years may be recovered for redeployment elsewhere. There are several possibilities in terms of how this recovered money will be used. It may merely be used by the Federal Government to help reduce the national deficit. Or that part of the military budget that is saved may be shifted to police forces (RCMP and/or provincial and municipal police departments). Another possibility would be that the money would not go directly to other public services but, rather, the armed forces could take on civilian duties such as aiding police departments in prevention

programs and playing a role in community policing. Such a step, of course, might entail some training of the military personnel involved.

The military has much to offer in relation to policing. Officers possess considerable managerial, interpersonal, and technical skills. Also, policing is already practised on military bases by the military police. Furthermore, military personnel have firearms training and are usually in good physical condition. Thus, military personnel, too, can complement police services especially in light of the movement toward community policing.

8.4 CIVILIANIZATION

There are some additional services, currently performed by police departments, that could be shifted to the civilian sector in the event of even more severe fiscal constraints. For example, 10 or 15 years ago, ambulance services assumed certain emergency responsibilities from the police in some cities and enforcing parking violations became a civilian responsibility in major cities.

A) Accidents

Responding to accidents and making reports is currently a major preoccupation of police departments. Save for those accidents in which fatalities or serious injuries occur, the parties involved could fill out the requisite forms on their own, providing their respective versions. The "Constat à l'Amiable" (Amicable Agreement) in Quebec operates in this fashion. This solution appears even more sensible when viewed in the light of the ever-growing popularity of no-fault insurance schemes. Or, if the police are called to the scene, they might charge the client or the client's insurance company.

B) Alarm Systems

About 95% of all private security alarms are false alarms. These false alarms, therefore, are responsible for a major squandering of police resources. A system could be set up, as in some countries, whereby it is the private security companies that respond with trained dogs. The cost of this extra private security function would be passed on to the clients. Or, if the police do respond to a false alarm, they would directly charge the client or security company that installed the alarm.

C) Traffic and Surveillance

Both traffic duties and preventive patrols can be handled by civilians both inside and outside police agencies. This form of civilianization is becoming increasingly prevalent in North America. Civilians could be recruited into police departments in accordance with a "tier model" of police organization and could perform surveillance and traffic duties at far lower cost than current first-class constables. Another option is to turn over some of these tasks to the more economical parallel public safety sector. Civilianization, in general, is becoming ever more prevalent in police services (e.g., accountants, computer specialists, and social scientists) and, in certain instances (e.g., clerical duties) can result in considerable savings.

8.5 FROM 55,000 TO 75,000 POLICE OFFICERS

Thus far in this chapter, the alternatives to public policing have been discussed. These alternatives have been considered because it is projected that the era of steady growth in police personnel is at an end. There are those who argue, however, that one cannot assume such a levelling off of police services. Union representatives particularly make the case that uniformed public police officers are irreplaceable, both in terms of their high standards of performance and the reassuring effect they have vis-a-vis members of the public. They further add that the funds to add to the existing number of police personnel is already available in many communities.

One argument they make is that parallel public safety is becoming progressively more expensive and if it were to be removed, or its growth at least curtailed, more public police officers could be recruited. Another way to generate funds for public police is to identify specific problem areas and make a case for targeted funds. In Metro Toronto, for example, a special case was put in front of the Board of Commissioners that more officers were needed to deal specifically with the drug problem. The Department received authorization for 100 additional police officers. Another case where exceptional, targeted funds were received was that of the RCMP, which requested additional personnel to deal with terrorism and drug trafficking at Canadian International Airports. The RCMP received funds for 200 additional agents at the Metro Toronto Airport.

In addition, one can contend that if a tier model of police organizations is adopted, with increased civilian entry and lower salaries for constables performing straightforward tasks, more personnel can be hired within the parameters of the same budget. Thus, according to some, it is a mistake to assume that police services will shrink and one should look, rather, at better ways to use existing funds and at ways of generating more funding, at least in targeted areas.

IX. FOR A VISION OF THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN CANADA

This document has sketched out a vision of policing that departs considerably from the traditional, professional approach to policing. Certain aspects of professionalism, most would agree, should be retained. These would include an adherence to the values of integrity, impartiality, competency, and a respect for individual rights. With the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, there is reason to believe that the accent on **individual rights** will only be enhanced in the years to come.

Police departments in the past have placed little emphasis on taking stock of their role in society and planning for the future. They have been militaristic organizations in which personnel, including chief executives, have been trained to obey commands rather than exercise critical thinking about their roles and functions. Police personnel have usually maintained a narrow allegiance to political leaders, statutes, or powerful interests, rather than acting on behalf of a broader constituency. The police have tended to be reactive organizations, responding to calls and managing crises rather than trying to take initiatives and shape the environment in a proactive way. In this sense, with a few exceptions, they have been managers of the **status quo** instead of **architects** of social change. The nature of police work lends itself to a conservative orientation and isolation from the environment as there is sufficient elasticity in police missions and organizations to handle even very strong perturbations from the environment. Increased demands on police services that are anticipated are met through the stockpiling of resources for these high demand periods. Unanticipated increases in demand can be met by simply shifting personnel from preventive patrol or special assignments. A dramatic increase in one type of offence or sudden public indignation over a particular series of crimes can be addressed by reducing enforcement in other areas. Even where police resources are overwhelmed by threats of a cataclysmic order, whether a natural disaster or civil disturbance, other police forces and the military can provide back-up support. This inherent adaptability of police departments provides little incentive for undertaking periodic evaluations of their general role and mission.

Increasingly, the major police departments today are undertaking some form of **strategic planning**. Such planning entails the concretization of a **mission** as well as scanning of the environment to ascertain future trends. Strategic planning also takes into account the impact of the police organization on the environment. Such planning, therefore, lends itself to the realization that police departments are not merely reactive agencies, responding to the environment. They can initiate change and impact the community in a positive way. The police can be at the vanguard of reform, rather than resisting change or going along with it only reluctantly. In fact, newer approaches to running organizations in general are predicated on the assumption that change is inevitable and often positive. Leaders, in all spheres, due to the multitude of changing forces they must contend with, must learn to embrace and manage change, rather than resist it at all costs.

Aside from the need to monitor continuously changes in both the internal and external environments of an organization, there are many indications that a fundamental shift must take place from the traditional, "professional" style of policing toward a more community-based approach. The approach that has prevailed from about the 1930s on is one which has been centred on technological advances and hardware, and has focused almost exclusively on conventional crime. The primary activities used to achieve the foremost objective of professional police forces, the reduction of crime levels, have been preventive patrol and rapid response. An overwhelming amount of evidence now indicates that these strategies have limited impact on crime, criminal investigation, or the fear of crime. Also, there is fairly widespread dissatisfaction with traditional police services in many communities. In this era of **consumerism**, the public is growing more assertive in articulating its demands and demanding that public services be accountable to them. Many calls to the police, because they do not involve serious conventional crimes, have in the past been treated as a nuisance and ignored by the police even though they may have been of great concern to the caller. Other crimes, such as domestic violence, have for long been considered private matters or the realm of social workers. Still others, such as crimes against the environment and those perpetrated by businesses, have been considered beyond the purview of the police. **Fear of crime**, too, has never been recognized as an issue distinct from fighting crime. Fear may be related to physical vulnerability, neighbourhood disorder, isolation, and misinformation as much as it is related to actual crime levels. The impersonal style of policing in patrol cars, of rotating officers continuously in a beat, and of dismantling neighbourhood police stations in favour of lavish centralized quarters certainly contributes to the sense of isolation from the police felt by many citizens.

The vision of policing in the future, embraced more and more by progressive police and community leaders, police managers as well as police unions, is that of departments that are **accountable to the community** they serve as opposed to mere bureaucratic concerns, such as getting the crime rate down.

It is a vision in which the ultimate consumers of police services, citizens themselves, have input into the setting of policies by their local department and play an active role in dealing with crime and other community problems--policing becomes an **interactive** endeavour between the police and the community rather than a unilateral activity.

It is a vision in which police officers, including **community police officers**, once again get close to the public, abandoning where possible methods of patrol that isolate them from their primary resource--ordinary citizens.

It is a vision in which the police, in tandem with neighbourhood groups and agencies, **try to deal with factors underlying neighbourhood problems** rather than merely deal with crime incidents after the fact, on a case-by-case basis.

It is a vision in which human resources, both within and outside police departments, are given greater emphasis than glitzy solutions relying on hardware and high technology. Technology, of course, has its place in promoting inter-agency networking and information-sharing, record-keeping, as well as in the forensic sciences, but **it is no panacea**.

This new vision of policing is one in which police organizations are willing and able to adapt to their ever changing environments and confront the emerging issues of the day, whether these are particular forms of crime (e.g., computer crimes and the drug traffic), legal and political changes (Canadian society is particularly dynamic with respect to these spheres), or the concerns of highly vulnerable groups (e.g., aboriginal people, minorities, women or the elderly).

Police organizations in the future will **pursue excellence** much like private organizations. They will no longer be stagnant and assume that funding will be stable or constantly increasing and that the public will remain passive. "Total quality" service is being demanded and it will be delivered within the context of a **lean department** as fiscal constraints are expected to be ever present in the future. With the stress on accountability and cost effectiveness, police agencies will be competitive organizations. If not the trend toward increasing privatization will continue.

Excellence, as contemporary experts on organizations tell us, requires that an organization rally all personnel around some **core values**. In the context of policing, these values can include the protection of individual rights, the maintenance of order and security in the community, competence and impartiality, and accountability to the community. These core values, at least, will be agreed upon and pursued with a passion by all members of the organization. Instilling such a passion is probably easier when police work is seen as a community service than when it is seen as crime fighting. An emphasis on problem solving can be stimulating and rewarding, whereas a focus on the seedy side of life is more likely to instill cynicism. Personnel are also more likely to pursue organizational goals passionately if they feel that their points of view and expertise are taken into consideration. The excellent organization delegates authority and responsibility to its members; it does not operate in a militaristic fashion.

A passion for organizational goals is also most likely to be cultivated by a **leader who has credibility** within the organization. Today's police leaders must virtually be superhuman, with expertise in policing, the behavioral sciences, administration, labour relations and communications. Police leaders will be respected for their abilities in all these realms, their personal integrity, and their egalitarian posture. They will possess special flexibility to deal with a changing world. They will be able to delegate responsibility, break down the para-military structure of the police, as well as the tendency of police organizations to become isolated from the community. They will be able to spur on their departments to achieve the highest standards of professionalism.

The police organization of the future will recognize the interdependence between the department and other key players involved in providing or overseeing police services. They will be sensitive to the guidelines set by police boards and commissions and the input of federal, provincial, and municipal agencies. Police managers will be cognizant of their **partnerships** with the community, officers, unions, and elected officials. They will realize the interconnectedness between their activities and those of other public services(housing, welfare, employment agencies, etc.)--services which also have an impact on crime. On the operational level, the need to do more with fewer resources makes it imperative that police departments marshall all available resources in the community and coordinate their activities with those organizations and groups that provide complementary services (e.g., private security firms, parallel public safety), or those organizations that can assist the police in some of their tasks (e.g., fire departments and the military).

In short , the police will view themselves as one part of a community-wide effort to not only deal with crime but to improve community life in general. Police work involves more than the technical enforcement of laws: a more fundamental goal is to promote **safer** and more harmonious communities. There is a growing emphasis, today, on developing **healthy** communities. A healthy community is one which contains income equity, social justice, properly fed and housed citizens, peace, resources of various kinds, educational opportunities, and a stable economy. A community seriously deficient in these areas will experience many social problems, only one of which is crime. As a result, playing a role in fostering a healthy community is in the interests of many community agencies, including the police. Thus, **partnership is the name of the game** in the future. The idea of the solitary police officer, single-handedly stemming the tide of crime, with villains on one side and hostile citizens on the other, is an image from the past. The police can no longer be viewed as commandos, parachuted into a community to rescue it from the forces of evil. The real world is not Hollywood. The police are the community and the community is the police. Police officers come from the community and reflect its values. They carry an obligation to the community they serve. At the same time, the community must support the police if its goals are to be achieved.

Renowned futurists Alvin and Heidi Toffler, writing about contemporary America, state that "almost all the major systems on which our society depends are in simultaneous crisis." The picture in Canada is not very different. Our nation's very existence is currently at stake. New economic threats are arising in the world. Our aboriginal people are getting restless and we are becoming increasingly more diversified culturally. We are facing progressively more ecological threats. Our larger cities are becoming somewhat more frightening places in which to live. The dangers posed by crime, however, must be viewed within the context of changes at all levels of our society. All institutions, including the police, must thoroughly and honestly evaluate their roles and functions and take matters in hand. **Risks must be taken** as nothing guarantees failure like a paralysing fear of it. The task of major institutional changes can be regarded as a challenge and an opportunity to improve services, rather than as a threat. Given the psychological and bureaucratic impediments to change, the question is whether the police and the community have the courage to look honestly at themselves and to take action.

On the basis of the consultation across Canada during which we met with police and community leaders, our answer is that with creative inspiration and hard work we are ready. Yes we are ready to take action and yes we are ready to prepare for the challenge of the 1990s and the year 2000!!!

ANNEX "A"

Principles of Policing: Sir Robert Peel (1829)

1. To prevent crime and disorder as an alternative to their repression by military force and by severity of legal punishment.

2. To recognize always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.

3. To recognize always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.

4. To recognize always that the extent to which the co-operation of the public can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.

5. To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy and without regard to the justice or injustices of the substance of individual laws; by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour; and by ready offering of sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.

6. To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public co-operation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order; and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.

7. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen, in the interests of community welfare and existence.

8. To recognize always the need for strict adherence to police executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary or avenging individuals or the state, and of authoritatively judging guilt or punishing the guilty.

9. To recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

ANNEX "B"

Selected Canadian References on Policing

Note

The general and scientific literature on policing has been very important in the last few years, in Canada, the United States and Europe. We refer the reader to it. However, in the context of this discussion paper, some Canadian references may be useful for the discussion and the public debate on the subject.

Some additional Canadian references, in French (without translation in English), are mentioned in annex "B" of the French version of this paper.

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